HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Private Strategy Revealed

HHH Wants Ted Kennedy on Ticket

By PAUL SCOTT

Vice President Humphrey's strategy for next month's Democratic convention includes a page from the 1956 political notebook of the late Adlai Stevenson.

The Democratic front-runner—if his party's nominee—plans to throw the vice presidential race wide open and let the convention delegates select his running-mate.

Although Humphrey will announce he is ready to abide by the choice of the delegates, his secret VP strategy is designed to clear the way for the convention to draft Sen. Edward "Teddy" Kennedy.

By allowing the convention "to work its will," Humphrey is convinced that a genuine draft would develop for Kennedy and that under these circumstances the senator couldn't refuse the vice presidential mandate.

The last open contest for the vice presidential nomination was also in Chicago at the 1956 Democratic convention. The late Sen. Estes Kefauver (D.-Tenn.) in an exciting battle narrowly defeated the then-Sen. John Kennedy after Stevenson called in the convention to select his running-mate.

According to aides, Humphrey's decision to adopt the open convention strategy for the vice presidential nomination came after preliminary soundings convinced him this was the only way that a Humphrey-Kennedy ticket could be put together.

Kennedy's political lieutenants told Humphrey it would take a convention draft to get the senator on the 1968 ticket and even that might not work unless the convention's platform plank on Viet Nam was acceptable.

In his reply Humphrey stressed that Sen. Kennedy and his views on Viet Nam were very close and he saw no great difficulty in their agreeing on an acceptable platform statement on the controversial issue.

When informed that Kennedy would make known his position on availability in a pre-convention announcement, Humphrey urged that Kennedy not make a Sherman-like statement that would bar a convention draft.

As an inducement for Kennedy to keep the door ajar, Humphrey made it clear that he was his first choice. Also, that the vice president under him would have a major voice in all Viet Nam decisions in the future and would be given other top priority foreign policy assignments.

One of the most attractive of these, Humphrey pointed out, would include the formation of a U.S. policy to meet the world's growing refugee problems in Viet Nam, the Middle East, Africa and Latin America. In nearly all these areas he has made on-the-spot investigations.

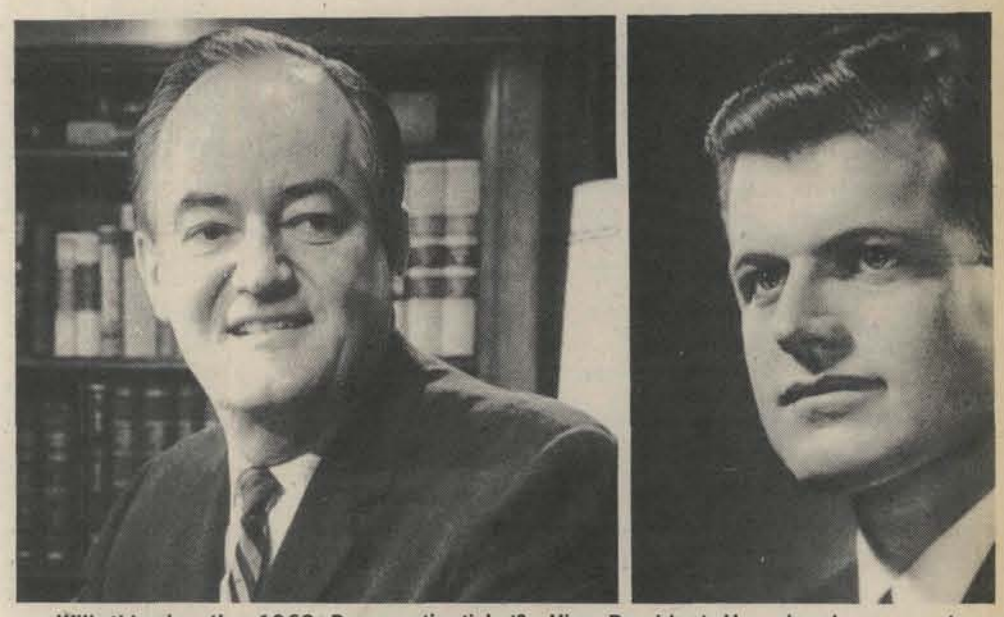
Whether Sen. Kennedy will be influenced by these Humphrey overtures or even a convention draft is still very much in doubt.

At 36 years of age, and a senator for the last five years, Kennedy is just over the 35-year minimum age specified in the Constitution for anyone to hold the office of President.

Burdened by the double tragedies of his brothers' assassinations, Sen. Kennedy has been urged by members of his own family not to allow his name to be entered at the convention under any circumstances.

Should Kennedy follow this advice and even bar a convention draft, the man to watch then would be Sen. Edmund Muskie (D.-Maine), a close political friend of Humphrey's.

Private polls of delegates taken by Humphrey's staff indicate that after Kennedy, Muskie is their choice. He is also Humphrey's preference after Kennedy. A lawyer and former governor, Muskie, 54, is a Catholic like Kennedy.



Will this be the 1968 Democratic ticket? Vice President Humphrey's apparent strategy is to have the convention pick Sen. Edward Kennedy in an emotional invocation of the slain Kennedy brothers.

Either Kennedy or Muskie fits into Humphrey's plans to concentrate his campaign on winning the election in the big, Northern industrial states if he is the Democratic nominee.

Humphrey's advisers have ruled out any ticket with Sen. Eugene McCarthy because of the constitutional provision in the 12th Amendment, which says:

"The electors shall meet in their respective states and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves."

★ ★ ★

A McCarthy-Humphrey debate at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago next month?

The confrontation is now a real possibility.

As delegates from Minnesota, both McCarthy and Humphrey have the right to speak from the convention floor at any time the presiding chairman recognizes them.

Already, supporters of McCarthy have made it known that their candidate will seek this privilege during the convention proceedings.

If the platform committee's plank on Viet Nam is not acceptable, they say, McCarthy will seek to change it with an emotionally charged plea to delegates from the convention floor.

Humphrey's aides say the vice president is also exploring the possibility of addressing the delegates. Several of Humphrey's staff are now studying past convention proceedings to determine what other candidates who were delegates have done.

According to Humphrey's strategy, a floor speech by McCarthy which could be construed as an attack on the Administration's Viet Nam policy must be promptly and effectively answered.

And the vice president believes he is the best qualified to do so.

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YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Capital Briefs

● Among those **"Executives for Rockefeller"** that have been listed in newspaper ads around the country: Lester Avnet, chairman and president of Avnet, Inc., N.Y., who contributed $7,500 to the Democratic party in 1966; Gustave L. Levy, a partner in Goldman Sachs & Co., New York City, who gave a total of $7,000 to the Demos in 1964; and John L. Loeb, of New York, who chipped in $13,500 to the Democratic party in 1964. Also on the list of executives for Rocky is Thomas W. Braden, editor of the Oceanside (Calif.) Blade Tribune. Braden, interestingly enough, is a delegate to the Democratic National Convention.

● Sen. **Robert P. Griffin** (R.-Mich.), a leader in the campaign to prevent Abe Fortas from being elevated to chief justice, is hoping to wind up as chairman of the Republican policy committee, a post now held by retiring Sen. Bourke B. Hickenlooper (R.-Iowa). Griffin, however, may receive some stiff opposition from GOP Senate leader Everett Dirksen. Dirksen is reported angry with the Michigan solon for bucking him on the Fortas matter.

● The rejection of Rep. **Paul Findley** for a vacant seat on the Illinois Republican National Convention delegation indicates to some observers that the state's 58-man contingent to Miami is now firmly controlled by Nixon supporters. Findley, once considered by many to be a reputable conservative, alienated many party stalwarts by enthusiastically backing Nelson Rockefeller's presidential bid.

● Mayor **John Lindsay**, who still has dark horse ambitions, has been secretly meeting with the late Sen. Robert F. Kennedy's closest aides to get advice on U.S. foreign policy.

● A professional lobbyist with a direct stake in important legislation now before Congress has been named as one of Vice President Humphrey's chief campaign fund raisers. **Neal Roach**, longtime lobbyist for the American Trucking Association, is working with the United Democrats for Humphrey in organizing fund-raising dinners and other activities. Roach is also lobbying hard for an Administration-backed bill which would sizably increase the weight limits on trucks using the federal interstate highway system.

● Columnists Evans and Novak indicate that a battle between President Johnson and Hubert Humphrey may be developing over the platform to be adopted by the **Democratic convention** in August. The President has repeatedly made it clear to Platform Committee Chairman Hale Boggs that he intends to have the final word on the language the platform will contain. The Humphrey forces contend that their candidate must pull away from close identification with the President's Viet Nam policy, and they are willing to fight for a platform which will conform more to Humphrey's own stands on the issues.

● The Cuban Book Institute, according to Radio Havana, "gave free of charge" to **Ramparts magazine** the diary of pro-Castro revolutionary "Che" Guevara.

● Four editors of Ramparts, who burned their draft cards for a cover photo on last December's issue, may be indicted by the federal government for violation of the **Selective Service laws**. At the time of the burning, none of the four was eligible for the current draft by reason of age or physical disability.

● The Office of Economic Opportunity is looking into still another potential scandal in **Haryou-Act**, the New York anti-poverty agency. At least six of the agency's board members are said to be involved in conflict of interest improprieties.

● Robert S. Vance, Democratic state chairman of Alabama, has filed a formal challenge with the national party to deny convention seats to all delegates favoring Sen. **Eugene McCarthy** unless they pledge themselves to support the party presidential nominee in November. If carried out, such a challenge could involve some 300 delegates, including Sen. McCarthy himself.

● Radio Havana reports that **Philip Hutchins**, new leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, has said that members of the U.S. Negro movement have great respect for Che Guevara. SNCC's "maximum leader Hutchins," say the Cubans, believes that the "type of struggle that Che led by means of arms . . . is the kind of struggle that we, the SNCC members in the United States, wish to wage. . . ."

● **Roy Wilkins**, leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), startled the liberals last week when he said that the United States has enough civil rights legislation already on the books. According to Wilkins, the major task now is to enforce existing laws and to re-educate white America.

● **Rockefeller-for-President forces** are now distributing for display a handsome poster which shows The Rock shaking hands in a crowd and bears the legend: "He's Never Lost an Election." Apparently the eager publicists pushing Rocky do not consider the 1964 New Hampshire and California primaries "elections."

● Freshman Rep. John Zwach (R.-Minn.), a staunch conservative, has coined an interesting re-election slogan for his campaign to retain his 6th District seat. Billboards are going up around the district reading: **"Zwach It to Me."** Zwach, incidentally, represents Vice President Hubert Humphrey's home district.

● The Steamfitters Union local in St. Louis has just won a four-year contract that will provide members **$10.45 an hour** in wages and benefits. Although the fraternal brothers of the Steamfitters are busy congratulating themselves on the gilt-edged package, others in the Missouri city are not sharing in the jubilation. The St. Louis Globe-Democrat, asking "and what will prospective home buyers use for money to pay for houses built by $10-an-hour workers?" concludes that the result of the contract "is most likely to be stagnating on the entire St. Louis area and its chances for growth."

● The Red Chinese have delivered the ultimate indignation to **Chiang Kai-shek**, premier of Nationalist China and arch-foe of Mao Tse-tung: The Red Guards recently destroyed the tomb of Chiang's mother on the China mainland. "This action," cheered a Peking press report, "brought joy to the hearts of all good revolutionaries, for the tomb was a source of poison in Chinese society. Its destruction marks a great victory for the thought of Mao Tse-tung."

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Griffin Pushes Fortas Fight

Sen. Robert Griffin (R.-Mich.), a leader in the anti-Fortas fight, has mapped plans that could put him on a collision course with Sen. Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.) at the Republican National Convention in Miami.

GRIFFIN

According to inside reports, if the Fortas nomination has not yet been resolved by August 3, Griffin will seek to have the convention delegates endorse a platform plank opposing Fortas' nomination. Even if the Fortas case has been decided, Griffin intends to push for some sort of anti-Fortas resolution.

The Michigan solon is telling the circle of anti-Fortas Republicans that Richard Nixon, the likely GOP presidential nominee, is fully backing the "dump" Fortas move and that this issue could become crucial to the campaign that lies ahead.

The major stumbling block to any such plank, of course, is the fact that Senate Minority Leader Dirksen, who is vigorously backing Fortas, is chairman of the GOP platform committee. But Griffin and other GOP strategists, fed up with Dirksen's palsy-walsy relationship with LBJ and LBJ's cronies, are resolved to battle Dirksen every inch of the way.

Opposition Mounts in Senate

Abe Fortas may still be elevated to chief justice, but the consensus last week was that he was fast losing ground as a result of his slippery replies to senators and the disclosures that he had violated the spirit of the "separation of powers" doctrine in his role as informal adviser to the President while sitting on the High Court.

As predicted in these pages last week, additional senators have now expressed their opposition to Fortas. Senators Russell Long (D.-La.) and Robert Byrd (D.-W. Va.), two key Democratic leaders, have publicly stated they will refuse to vote for his confirmation. The anti-Fortas crowd has also picked up backing from Sen. Ernest Hollings (D.-S.C.), who had originally said he would not oppose the Fortas nomination.

Senators before the Judiciary Committee were particularly distressed last week by the revelations of Fortas' frequent meetings with LBJ for the purpose of assisting him in strategy planning conferences on the Viet Nam war and urban riots.

They were also appalled by the fact that Fortas, apparently at the behest of the President, had pressured a business associate to reduce his widely publicized estimate that the cost of the Viet Nam war would escalate by as much as $5 billion. As a result of Associate Justice Fortas' call, the businessman, Ralph Lazarus, revised his figure downward.

Sen. Sam Ervin (D.-N.C.) and other members of the Judiciary Committee felt that Fortas might very well have to disqualify himself from cases involving matters on which he had advised the President. Even the liberal Washington *Post* was moved to remark that the justice's explanations had not made the relationship either "wise or proper." The justice, they warned, should stay out of situations which can be used to show that he is not impartial.

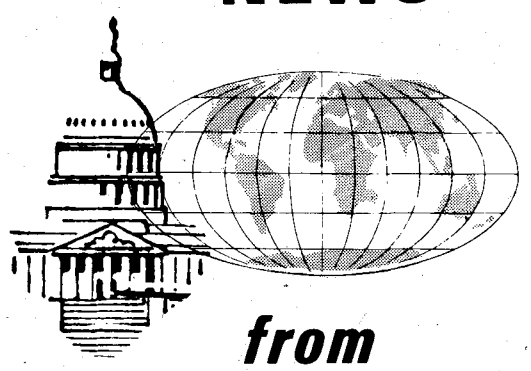
Time and time again Fortas riled the lawmakers by his refusal to respond to questions. Though he had seen nothing wrong with advising the President, he now claimed that the "constitutional separation of powers" prevented a Supreme Court justice from submitting to congressional cross-examination about cases and opinions. He also relied on this doctrine for the purpose of avoiding probing questions on his meetings with LBJ. In one session he declined more than 50 times to answer questions put to him by Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.).

Since he advised the President, Thurmond asked, why shouldn't the senators also "have the benefit of your views?" Thurmond also noted that while Fortas wouldn't talk to the lawmakers, he saw nothing wrong with writing books and pamphlets where he elaborated on his views.

Exasperated at his inability to goad Fortas into a material response, Thurmond said at one point: "Mallory! Mallory! I want that word to ring in your ears. Mallory! A man who confessed to a crime and the court turned him loose on a technicality. Do you as a justice of the Supreme Court condone such a decision as that?"

Fortas visibly flushed at Thurmond's grating question, but, after a few moments of silence to compose himself, he again replied that the Constitution forbade him to answer.

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



from Inside Washington

Noted the New York *Times*: "The scene reminded many observers in the stately Senate Caucus Room of some of the anti-subversive hearings of a decade ago, when witnesses were forced to plead the 5th Amendment provision against self-incrimination. . . ."

But Fortas' discreet silence may not necessarily be golden. For Fortas' performance could well have angered just enough senators to prevent his assuming the position of chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.

Lindsay Embraces Law Breaker

The incipient drive in liberal Republican circles to place New York Mayor John Lindsay in the No. 2 spot on the GOP presidential ticket was set back recently when Lindsay announced the appointment of militant black leader Milton Galamison to the New York City Board of Education. The Galamison selection, it is said, places Lindsay on the wrong side of the "law and order" issue which promises to be a major topic in the 1968 campaign.

GALAMISON

The Lindsay choice has already drawn heavy criticism. City Councilman Joseph Modugno of Queens declared that the new appointee's "past militant record against the board does not augur well for the future welfare of the Board of Education. . . ."

Members of the United Federation of Teachers also registered their opposition to Galamison, who helped stage boycotts of the schools in 1964 and 1965 and is still awaiting court action on disorderly conduct charges arising from a sit-in at the Board of Education in 1966.

The Jewish Defense League in New York, headed by Rabbi Meir Kahane, declared its opposition to Galamison because he "has proven himself to be a man without respect for the law and whose willful breaking of it is an absurd example to set before the children he is supposed to help educate."

According to the JDL, Galamison "has been arrested nine times for public disturbances. He has led boycotts in defiance of the law and in December 1966 he and 11 others invaded Board of Education headquarters in Brooklyn. They insisted they were the 'new' school board, took over the large meeting room in the building at 110 Livingston Street and refused to budge for 53 hours.

"He was initially charged with unlawful assembly and criminal trespassing, but the charges were reduced to disorderly conduct."

In addition, the JDL charged Galamison with "indifference" to the consequences of cooperating with Communist and leftist groups.

"We have documented evidence that Mr. Galamison was listed as a keynote speaker at the DuBois Clubs founding convention in 1964. The DuBois Clubs were described by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover as being the youth front for the Communist party in the United States.

"He has also written an article for the Summer 1963 issue of *Freedomways* which was cited by Hoover as one of the 'main publications used by the Communist Party, U.S.A., as propaganda media.

"The appointment is an affront to the decent people, black and white, of New York, and a threat to the democratic and orderly process of government. We predict that with the elevation of Mr. Galamison, chaos and racism in our schools will be worse than ever this coming year."

Thus the feeling that the Galamison appointment may have spiked Lindsay's chances for a spot on the GOP ticket this year.

Will U.S. Surrender Sovereignty?

The House Foreign Affairs Committee has quietly reported out a resolution (H Con. Res. 48) to promote the surrender of U.S. sovereignty to countries in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

The resolution calls for the creation of an Atlantic Union delegation which would organize and participate in a convention of NATO countries. The convention would then explore the possibility of transforming NATO into a federal union, of setting up a timetable for such a goal, and creating interim institutions to hasten the integration process.

Authored by Rep. Clement Zablocki (D.-Wis.), the resolution has bi-partisan backing and is even being plugged by some conservatives.

Yet while Congress, mainly its more liberal members, seems to be pushing for the resolution, even the State Department has registered its opposition. Testifying on this subject before Congress on Sept. 20, 1966, George W. Ball, then under secretary of state, said: " . . . I find little evidence of any strong interest among Europeans for any immediate move toward greater political unity with the United States. We Atlantic nations are of different size and the Europeans are sensitive to this disparity. They fear the overwhelming weight of U.S. power and influence in our common councils."

In 1967 the department asserted that passage of an "Atlantic Union" resolution would be "regarded by the Europeans as a reversal of our support for European integration and possibly an attempt to assert American domination."

The proposal for a federal union, of course, has been bobbing around Congress for several years. When it came up for Senate hearing in 1950, the department again gave it the brush-off. Speaking for the State Department, John D. Hickerson asked:

"Just how far are we willing to go in compromising our way of life and our institutions? Are the American people prepared to be taxed

Not content with dividing the Republican party through his verbal assault-and-battery on Richard Nixon, presidential hopeful Nelson Rockefeller has now lashed out with a slightly veiled insult of the party's patriarch, former President Dwight D. Eisenhower. In trying to explain away Ike's endorsement of Nixon for the GOP nomination, Rocky said that since Eisenhower's grandson David is engaged to Nixon's daughter Julie, "it would be very embarrassing for [Nixon] if he didn't endorse."

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in support of a world federation in which, because of our wealth, our share would be proportionately higher?"

Hickerson said a federal Atlantic Union "would involve not only basic economic and social changes, but also changes in the structure of the United States government. Clearly our participation in such a union would involve the ceding of power by the United States government to some new authority in many fields, such as the conduct of relations with other governments, control of our armed forces, taxation, imports, currency, exploitation of our natural resources and immigration. Are the American people prepared to do so?"

They weren't then and they probably aren't now. But a number of lawmakers are apparently intent on pushing through the Atlantic Union resolution in the waning days of this Congress.

Rusk Aids Fugitive

The Seafarers International Union chipped in $100,000 to the Democratic party—with half the money going to campaign committees for Hubert Humphrey—less than two weeks after Secretary of State Dean Rusk aided a fugitive Canadian friend of the Seafarers' president, Paul Hall. The story broke in the *Wall Street Journal* last week.

RUSK

Seven months ago, according to the *Journal*, seven lawyers gathered in Rusk's inner office over glasses of sherry to discuss an extradition case. The lawyers argued discreetly about a Canadian government request that the U.S. surrender Harold C. Banks, former boss of the Canadian district of the Seafarers International Union.

Banks had jumped $25,000 bail in Canada and fled south across the border to avoid serving a five-year jail term on a conviction for hiring the goons who inflicted a double rupture and a fractured skull on a rival union leader. In seeking refuge, Banks spent part of his time aboard the yacht of Seafarers President Hall.

At the informal hearing in Rusk's office, Canada's lawyers sought the return of Banks, then in federal custody, on the grounds that he had committed perjury in connection with the case. (Assault is not among the extraditable crimes listed in the Webster-Ashburton Treaty governing U.S.-Canadian relations.) There was no reason to think Rusk would refuse, since U.S. Commissioner Salvatore T. Abruzzo and Rusk's current legal adviser, Leonard C. Meeker, had agreed that Banks should be shipped back to Canada.

But Rusk, a non-practicing lawyer, rejected the advice of both men and declined to issue an extradition warrant. To surrender Banks, contended Rusk, would violate "my own sense of old-fashioned justice."

Rusk claimed he had the case "of a human being in front of me" and felt it was wrong to extradite Banks for perjury because that charge had stemmed from a non-extraditable offense. So the secretary let Banks go free. On March 25 Rusk rejected a Canadian appeal for international arbitration of the dispute.

Then, says the *Journal*, an interesting thing occurred. In early April, checks totaling $100,000 started flowing into Democratic party campaign coffers from Seafarers Union headquarters in Brooklyn. "The Seafarers' gift," notes the *Journal*, "is the single biggest union contribution known to have been made in this presidential election year. It came in two equal packets of 10 checks each—and each of the 20 checks was for exactly $5,000. Half the money was earmarked for Vice President Humphrey's campaign; the rest went to groups that had been working for President Johnson's re-election." (The checks were in $5,000 chunks because federal law forbids a contributor to send more than $5,000 to a single committee supporting candidates for federal office.)

While part of the money went to eight Humphrey committees which exist only on paper, money also went to the Citizens for Humphrey committee, whose co-chairman is David Ginsburg, law partner of Myer Feldman, who along with Abram Chayes, former State Department legal adviser, represented fugitive Banks in the informal hearing in Rusk's office.

Rusk, of course, denies there was any "deal" made with the Seafarers Union. But the State Department acknowledges that it can't find another instance where extradition was denied on the grounds given by Rusk. The department says it also can't find another case involving Canada where a lower magistrate's ruling was overturned on appeal to the secretary of state. Meanwhile, Hubert Humphrey and the Democratic party are $100,000 richer.

Bureaucracy Backdown

The Civil Service Commission wiped the slate clean of all charges against Charles F. Olson, 47, of Morris, Ill., an army electronics engineer, who had been accused by his superiors of mental instability after he had criticized waste and mismanagement in connection with Defense Department contracts. (See *Human Events*, June 8, page 7.)

The commission declared it was dismissing "for lack of sufficient evidence" the Army's application to force Olson's retirement on disability charges from his post in the Army's ammunition procurement and supply agency in Joliet, Ill.

Members of Congress hailed the decision as a victory over government tyranny. Those who praised the ruling included Sen. Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.); Sen. Sam Ervin (D.-N.C.) and Rep. Charlotte Reid (R.-Ill.).

Mrs. Reid's office was told by Commissioner Robert E. Hampton the ruling meant "reinstatement to his former position."

A major share of the credit for Olson's victory goes to Chicago *Tribune* columnist Willard Edwards, whose reports on the case spurred congressional intercession on Olson's behalf.

Olson's harassment, noted Capitol observers, in many ways resembled the vendetta against Otto F. Otepka, the State Department security officer who had exposed lax security standards in government.

Both men were initially fired from their jobs when they spoke up against wrongdoing in their departments. Both won reinstatement after it had become clear that they were victims of bureaucratic tyranny (though Otepka, who is still fighting for full vindication, was demoted).

Olson, who had riled his superiors when he spotted defects in defense contracts, was summarily ordered to subject himself to questioning by a government psychiatrist, who, after a quickie examination, had labeled Olson a "chronic paranoid."

The commission, however, found that the "test" given Olson defied normal procedure and now has decided he should be fully reinstated.

As a result of the Olson case, moreover, the commission has issued new regulations making it far more difficult to stigmatize an employe with such labels as "chronic paranoid." Under the new regulations, psychiatric examinations can no longer be ordered at the whim of a single official, as was done in the Olson case.

LBJ's Authorized History

Quite unwilling to leave the judgment of his presidency to others, LBJ has launched a massive new program in which he and his bureaucratic cronies will supervise a written history of the "Great Society."

Under White House orders, each department and agency has been instructed to assign two high-salaried individuals on a full-time basis to the sole task of preparing a written history of that agency's activities during the Johnson Administration. (Some agencies have hired outside help at rates of $50 a day and upward.) All reports are to be sent to the White House for scrutiny.

The project is being directed by John Robsin, under secretary of transportation, and by two members of the White House staff, Matthew Nimetz and Don Furtado. Special orders to initiate this high-powered "history" project were transmitted to the various agencies and departments over the signature of Joseph A. Califano Jr., special assistant to the President.

The completed "history" would eventually be placed in the Lyndon B. Johnson Library in Austin, Tex., where, presumably, LBJ could read about the glories of his regime in his retiring years.

Herbert Angel, deputy archivist at the National Archives, remarked that previous Administrations had prepared such records, but not in such a formal or ambitious way.

Sen. John Williams (R.-Del.), who uncovered the scheme, says the project is an "unnecessary and irresponsible waste" of the taxpayers' money, since history should be left to historians and not "distorted by a lot of high-powered propaganda initiated at the taxpayers' expense."

But if a history is going to be written, said Williams, perhaps it should be pointed out that LBJ has "been the greatest spendthrift that has occupied the White House since the initiation of the American Republic" or that the "value of the American dollar has deteriorated at a faster rate under the Johnson Administration than at any time in American history. . . ." But Williams is not betting that this is what will appear in LBJ's authorized history of his presidency.

Riots Help Close Willard

The recent rioting, civil unrest and "Poor People's" campaigning which hit the Nation's Capital in recent months have claimed a notable victim.

The historic Willard Hotel, only two blocks from the White House and a veteran landmark of American history, closed its doors for good last week. The massive loss in tourist business as a result of the disorders broke the already strained financial back of the hotel, which had been losing business to newer hotels in the district and to the motel trade.

The Willard's history spanned 121 years; Presidents from Pierce to Coolidge stayed there at times and it was at the Willard that a last-ditch meeting was held to try to stave off the Civil War in 1861. Throughout the latter half of the 19th Century, and a good part of the 20th, the Willard was Washington's premier establishment.

In addition, uncertainty over the hotel's future resulted from a "Great Society" boondoggle which would call for razing of two of downtown Washington's most productive blocks to provide for a "National Square" as part of a drastic redesign of the Pennsylvania Avenue complex leading from the White House to the Capitol. The Willard, as well as one other hotel, the National Theater and the National Press Building would fall victim to the wrecking ball if the planners get their way.

Hence, permissive liberalism and bureaucratic do-goodism have joined forces to remove from the scene an important monument in American history.

SDS Trains Saboteurs

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover disclosed last week that members of the radical Students for a Democratic Society are mapping plans to use "sabotage and explosives" in their anti-draft campaign.

In a report to Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark, Hoover said that SDS members attended a closed-door "workshop" on arson at their recent convention at East Lansing, Mich. Citing the reports of undercover agents who infiltrated the session, Hoover said:

"The participants discussed various devices which might be developed for use in planned attacks on Selective Service facilities and in connection with other forms of violent demonstrations. They explored the use of combustible materials and the various types of bombs which could be devised to destroy communications and plumbing systems of strategic buildings.

"They even discussed the finer points of firing Molotov cocktails from shotguns, as well as similar forms of so-called defense measures which could be used in defiance of police action."

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POLITICS '68

UPSET IN MIAMI?

"Who will win in Miami?" Up until quite recently, **Richard Nixon** has been viewed as a shoo-in at the GOP presidential clambake in Florida. And while the former vice president is still considered the heavy favorite, the challenge from both **Nelson Rockefeller** and **Ronald Reagan** has become far stiffer in recent weeks.

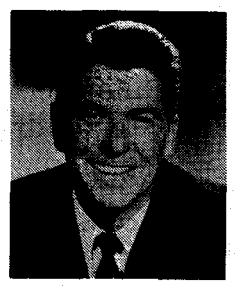
Nixon is no longer believed to have the nomination "sewed up" on the first ballot and speculation grows that **an upset**, though not probable, could be in the making.

The previously free-rolling Nixon bandwagon is said to have been partially stalled by the massive **Madison Avenue campaign** on behalf of Rockefeller. An indication of this is the surprise backing given to the New York governor by such erstwhile conservative politicos as Gov. **Claude Kirk** of Florida and Rep. **Albert Quie** of Minnesota. Rocky's strong support among Negro voters has also impressed a number of GOP strategists.

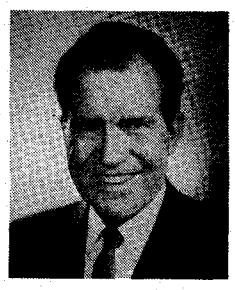
But it is not Rockefeller, alone, that is causing all these frowns in the Nixon camp. Reagan is also throwing a scare into Nixon backers as the California governor begins to "rev" up his **unofficial campaign** for the presidency.

No longer so shy and retiring, Reagan has quit claiming he is not a candidate. He now says, "My name will be placed in nomination. Obviously at that time I can be considered a candidate by delegates so inclined."

No longer does Reagan attempt to discourage efforts on his behalf by groups such as the National Citizens for Reagan organization based in



REAGAN



NIXON

Topeka, Kan. Reagan, in fact, gave permission for the citizens group to show his June 13 address in Indianapolis, Ind., on the nationwide CBS-TV network last Sunday night.

Reagan, furthermore, has continued to whittle away at Nixon's support. After delivering a powerful keynote address at **Utah's Republican state convention** on July 12, Reagan scored a major coup by winning five of eight convention delegates, the majority of whom had been leaning toward Nixon. The California governor has also dipped into "Nixon territory" in the South and Southwest. Most recently, he won support from West Texas Republican Rep. **Bob Price**, an event that could seriously undercut Sen. John Tower's bid to deliver most of the **Texas delegation** to Nixon.

Reagan figures to get all the exposure he can before the convention. Last week he was visiting with Republican convention delegates in Maryland, Virginia and Ohio. He is also scheduled to visit Indiana, Kentucky, North Carolina and perhaps other states before the Miami convention. Also crisscrossing the country to help line up Reagan delegates has been **F. Clifton White**, Barry Goldwater's pre-convention strategist.

Although they may well be able to prevent a first-ballot Nixon victory, neither Rocky nor Reagan seems very likely to be able to pull off a convention coup—particularly in view of the fact that Nixon swept all the **primaries** and that every major GOP contender shrank from contesting Nixon head-on. Nor have any of the polls shown that Reagan or Rockefeller would do considerably better than Nixon in the general election. Nevertheless, the former vice president faces more of a battle for the Republican nomination than he did a few weeks ago.

ACU PLUGS REAGAN

The American Conservative Union's **Battle Line**, which now looks with definite favor upon a Reagan candidacy, declared last week that it foresaw a possible "upset" at the Republican National Convention starting August 5 in Miami Beach.

Battle Line's analysis indicates that Nixon was far from being a first-ballot winner and could count on only 230 "committed" delegates and 324 "leaning," for a possible total of 554—**113 votes short** of the magic number needed to nominate.

Surprisingly, Battle Line stated, the candidate with the second largest number of delegates is California Gov. **Ronald Reagan**, who received 158 "committed" delegates, 160 "leaning," for a total of 318. According to the Battle Line survey, Gov. **Nelson Rockefeller** has only 147 "committed" delegates and 148 "leaning," 23 fewer than Reagan's number.

The ACU publication claimed that **support for Nixon** was decidedly "soft," and that it could well go for Reagan if the California governor declares himself a candidate.

ASHBROOK

Battle Line's analysis has provoked much interest in political circles, particularly since Rep. **John Ashbrook** (R.-Ohio), chairman of the American Conservative Union, had previously stated that he favored Nixon as the GOP presidential candidate.

Ashbrook, however, has okayed the new "pro-Reagan" slant of Battle Line and is permitting the Maryland Citizens for Reagan Committee to mail out the ACU publication to potential Reagan boosters. Former YAF chairman **Robert Bauman,** who helps edit Battle Line, is a leader in the Maryland committee for Reagan and the group's treasurer is **John Jones**, the political action director of ACU.

• What worries many conservatives is that the **Reagan effort**, rather than bringing about the perfectly acceptable nomination of the California governor, will instead enable **Nelson Rockefeller** to squeak through to a convention victory. Although these conservatives agree that Nixon's conservative credentials are not impeccable, they feel that realistically speaking he is the most conservative candidate the convention would accept. Reagan strategists, including the talented Clif White, obviously disagree. They think that if Nixon is stopped on the first two ballots, enough of his conservative-minded delegates will switch on the following ballots to nominate Reagan. But might not more delegates, tasting victory in November, switch to Rockefeller, seduced by the line that he is a "sure winner"? White thinks not. He has been telling various politicos that Rocky has a maximum potential strength of 500 delegates, far short of the number necessary to nominate him. Only at Miami will conservatives learn whether the assessment of White and the other Reagan aides is correct—or whether, by stopping Nixon, they have only helped nominate Rockefeller.

GOP PLATFORM

Hearings on the Republican platform are scheduled to start July 29 in the Fontainbleau Hotel in Miami Beach. Sen. **Everett Dirksen** (R.-Ill.), chairman of the GOP Platform Committee, promises that the end result will be "brief, pungent and in language the nation's voters can understand."

The major platform subcommittees, headed by liberals, moderates and conservatives, include:

• Foreign Policy and National Security—Rep. Glenard P. Lipscomb (Calif.).

• Economic Affairs—Sen. Roman Hruska (Neb.).

• Private Enterprise and Federal Government—Rep. John Rhodes (Ariz.).

• Equal Opportunity in an Urban Society—Rep. Charles Goodell (N.Y.).

• Human Needs—Sen. Hugh Scott (Pa.).

• Inter-Governmental Relations—Gov. Louie Nunn (Ky.).

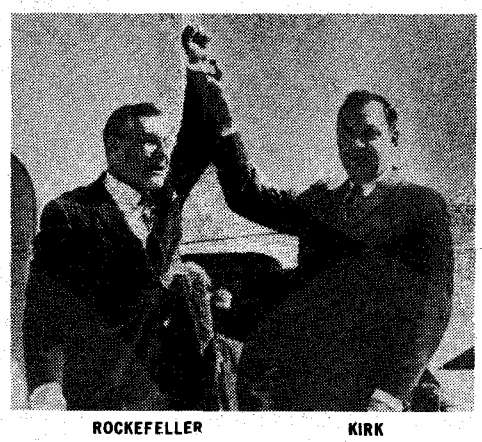
• Agriculture and Natural Resources—Gov. Walter J. Hickel (Alaska).

KIRK'S CAPERS

The endorsement of Nelson Rockefeller last week by Florida's ubiquitous Gov. **Claude Kirk** came as no surprise to veteran Kirkologists. Although a professed conservative, Kirk has in his brief two-year tenure been on all sides of the political fence and has conducted himself in office with the singular goal of advancing his own fortunes.

As one of the most unabashed contenders for the GOP **vice presidential nomination**, former insurance salesman Kirk has travelled the country establishing his image as the Southern-Conservative-Who-Dared-to-Stand-Up-to-George-Wallace. Kirk figured that national Republican leaders would recognize his value in offsetting a conservative drift to Wallace, particularly in the South, and see that he got a place on the national ticket, preferably with Richard Nixon.

When Nixon didn't appear to embrace Kirk, the Sunshine State chief executive switched his sights to New Yorker Rockefeller. In endorsing liberal Rocky, who is anathema in the South, Kirk completely destroyed his credibility



ROCKEFELLER KIRK

as a **Wallace critic**. National GOP officials had indeed welcomed Kirk's previous attacks on Wallace's hidden populist-liberal attitudes, but now they feel Kirk is useless in this capacity.

Otherwise, Kirk's political kinship with Rockefeller was something less than a shock. At least two members of Kirk's personal staff were former **Rockefeller aides** in New York, including speechwriter William Safire and chief press secretary Jim Wolfe.

Since taking office in 1966, Kirk has barnstormed on **speaking tours** from coast to coast (in a rented Lear Jet which costs Florida taxpayers over $2 per mile) to boost his national stock. Kirk had hoped to be Florida's "favorite son" candidate at the GOP convention (to be held in Kirk's back yard, Miami Beach), but this ploy was scotched by state Republican leaders.

After members of the 34-man convention delegation had already been selected, Kirk's high-handed personal assistant, **Tom Ferguson** (who previously worked for Kirk's predecessor, Democratic Gov. Hayden Burns), quietly attempted to purge certain of the delegates and replace them with Kirk sycophants. State GOP Chairman **William Murfin** angrily denounced this attempt, withdrew plans for a Kirk "favorite son" nomination and threw the state delegation behind former Vice President Richard Nixon.

Therefore, despite Kirk's sudden romance with Rockefeller, the **Florida delegation** at the convention will give Rocky exactly one vote—Kirk's. Nixon is expected to get at least 26, with California's Ronald Reagan picking up the remainder.

But the ever-hopeful Claude Kirk magnanimously left the door open for Nixon to win back his loyalty. "If Mr. Nixon makes statements that are overwhelming to me and tells me something about who's going to be his vice presidential candidate and gets me excited in the sense that I know that's a winning team, then perhaps I'll reconsider." Mr. Nixon should save his breath.

CAVANAGH'S TROUBLES

Detroit's **Jerome P. Cavanagh**, two-term mayor of the nation's fifth largest city, may be headed toward political oblivion. Not only has he been in trouble since he was unable to handle the city's major blow-up in 1967, but the voters aren't particularly happy that he can't control riots in his own home, either.

CAVANAGH

Testifying in court last week, Cavanagh said that he and his wife have had several battles since 1965 when she moved from their bedroom into a guest room. He said the fights included one in which she hurled at him a platter of eggs and then hit him with the platter itself.

Mrs. Cavanagh, in turn, accused the Democratic mayor of drinking "excessively" and often coming home at 5 in the morning. She said he struck her once while she was pregnant and one time hit her in the mouth, causing her to lose two teeth.

The battle for custody of their eight children has been a key issue between the Cavanaghs, married in 1952 when he was a law student at the university of Detroit and she was a campus queen. If Cavanagh fails to win custody, Detroit voters think the mayor's political troubles will continue to mount.

CALIFORNIA'S DEMOS

Reporting from San Francisco, New York Times correspondent Max Frankel remarked last week that there is only one thing that unites **California Democrats** at the moment, "and that is the confident prediction of disaster for their party in November."

Like Democrats in many states, said Frankel, California Democrats "**feel unled**" in their own state and "uninspired by their colleagues elsewhere." Like Democrats everywhere, they are "deeply divided not only about the right political answers in 1968 but even about the questions that need answering."

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Minority Rules With 12%

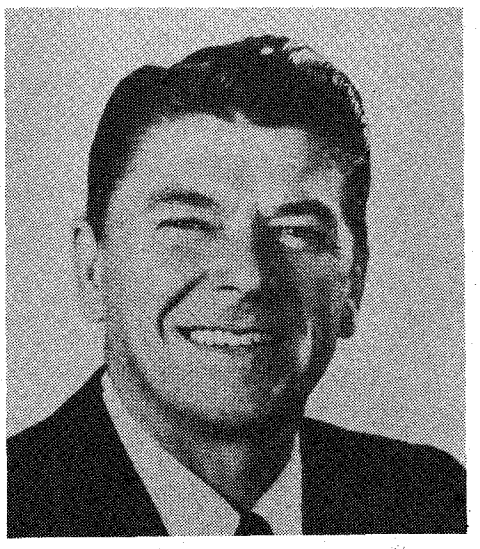
More on the Reagan recall attempt

By MORRIE RYSKIND

Herewith—as promised—more on the nihilistic attempt to impeach California's Gov. Ronald Reagan. Incidentally, when I so described it to a man who asked me to sign the recall petition, his triumphant reply was, "It's legal, ain't it?"

That it is. Under our law, if 780,-414 (12 per cent of the vote in the 1966 gubernatorial election) sign such a petition, the governor must, in essence, stand for office again at a special election.

Legal, yes; moral, no. For the only justifiable reason for invoking such action is malfeasance, some evidence of corruption. But there has been no local Bobby Baker episode here; nor has any



The liberal-inspired attempt to recall California Gov. Ronald Reagan is basically an attempt to embarrass the popular governor.

Reagan appointee been caught—as in New York under Mayor Lindsay—with his hand in the till.

Still, Reagan is guilty of one cardinal sin liberals cannot forgive. He not only promised fiscal responsibility, but has managed to achieve it. Though forced to raise taxes to meet a deficit left by Gov. Pat Brown, he has streamlined some unnecessary duplications and thus saved the state an annual $105 million.

Naturally, this nefarious work has made him enemies among those who don't care where the money comes from as long as they get it. Thus we find these economic illiterates screaming that "Reagan puts property rights above human rights." And when he denounces campus riots which, in the name of free speech, allow none but the rioters to be heard, he is against "academic freedom."

But the basic arguments of the hard-core petition carriers go more to the nitty-gritty. TV showed such an activist group of youngsters hard at work. The interviewer put the same question to three of them: "Why do you oppose Reagan?"

The first said, "Do I need a reason?" The second answered, "He's a jerk." And the third replied, "He reminds me of Nixon." And there, in the vivid language of "tell it like it is," is the incontrovertible logic behind the "Recall Reagan" campaign. Boy, do these kids communicate!

How are they doing? Well, on June 19, Edwin Koupal, the Jeanne d'Arc of the movement, said he had 700,000 signatures and expected 1.6 million by July 31, deadline day. Last Sunday (July 7) a TV newscaster gave a new total of 750,000. But on Monday Koupal claimed only 680,000. Tomorrow—who knows?

Still, whatever the figure, there are problems. Our professional petition circulators—we have many here, since initiatives may be put on the ballot—agree that, no matter how they try to screen out phony signatures, some 25 per cent will still prove invalid when the county clerks start checking.

And, since the recall lads are amateurs and less careful because to them a name is a name is a name, the pros believe the invalidation percentage will be much higher here.

Indeed, there is some evidence that the amateurs, in their enthusiasm, signed up many youngsters not eligible to vote. And there's testimony of even more careless—or less scrupulous—tactics.

Thus the San Francisco *Examiner*: "Mrs. John Cardinale was approached on the street to sign a petition for lower taxes. But when she studied the fine print, it turned out to be a Recall Reagan movement."

Rightly or wrongly, all over the state a good many complain that they were tricked into signing the recall by not reading the fine print, and have asked their names be stricken if that proves to be the case. Secretary of State Frank Jordan has had so many queries about it that he has issued a warning that misrepresentation of a petition is a felony punishable by a fine of $5,-000 and two years in jail.

And a note from a student at San Francisco State College—I have checked on his bona fides—avers that he saw recall petitions circulated during classes (both by students and non-students) with the instructors' permission. "I also noted that age was no barrier, and have witnesses who tell me they saw signatures taken at the high schools. I stand ready to swear to this in court."

Of course, if any teacher permitted such electioneering in his classroom, he broke the law and should be fired summarily. But that procedure would be another violation of "academic freedom," which holds that a professor is above the law. Some are more equal than others.

Anyhow, that's how it goes in California.

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HISTORICAL FACT—"Eric Hoffer, the longshoreman-philosopher, points out that the Swedes, who are furious with the United States for aiding South Viet Nam 'did not let out a peep when Hitler was slaughtering Jews. They sent Hitler choice iron ore, and ball bearings, and serviced his troop trains to Norway.' Thus Mr. Hoffer reminds all concerned that people who live in a glass house shouldn't throw stones."
—From the Charleston *News and Courier*

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Once Off Court, Will Warren Continue Anti-Nixon Vendetta?

By FREDERIC NELSON

It appears to be generally agreed, among Tories at least, that Chief Justice Warren is hanging up his judicial robes so as to give President Johnson the opportunity to make another "activist" appointment and thus save the court from some frightful "reactionary" named by Richard Nixon—when, as and if. Undoubtedly, from the "liberal" point of view, it is vital to preserve the five-man judicial dictatorship which now runs things. However, loss of the White House and possibly Congress could be equally disastrous to the liberal cause, and possibly to the court's liberal majority. A conservative Administration might actually get around to a too-long-delayed effort to limit the Supreme Court's jurisdiction.

Therefore, being of a suspicious nature, I am consumed with curiosity as to how the chief justice will spend his time once he is relieved of judicial restraint. Packing the court with liberals could be only half the battle. Stopping Nixon could really lock things up, and the C. J. is an old hand at throwing the hooks into Nixon. He also has a history of liberal backing for high office.

The Warren hostility to Nixon goes back at least to 1946 when, according to the biography of Nixon by Earl Mazo, sometime Washington correspondent for the sometime New York *Herald Tribune*, "Warren indirectly had aided Nixon's Democratic opponent for Congress . . . while refusing to acknowledge Nixon."

In 1959, with Nixon very much in the running of the GOP nomination, the chief justice got into an unseemly row with Mazo at a Washington cocktail party on account of certain vaguely identified statements in the Nixon book. The chief justice was reported in several newspaper accounts to have called Mazo a "damned liar."

Just which of several passages in the book called down this Jovian fire is not entirely clear from contemporary news stories, but the consensus seems to be that the chief offense was an account of what happened at, and prior to, the GOP National Convention of 1952 in which Warren, then governor of California, was his state's favorite son. According to Mazo, Nixon, who was of course a member of the California delegation, expressed the opinion that Eisenhower was likely to be nominated on the first ballot.

"Warren men were furious," wrote Mazo. "They complained that the junior senator had breached Sen. Knowland's edict that California's delegates would refuse even to consider an alternative to Warren. Several Warrenites 'confided' to some newspaper correspondents that Nixon tried to entice California votes away from Warren in return for second place on the Eisenhower ticket."

The conclusion of some Warren supporters, according to the late John O'Donnell of the New York *Daily News*, was that, if the Taft-Eisenhower deadlock had lasted a little longer, the lightning might have struck Earl Warren. They blamed Nixon's pro-Eisenhower activities for eliminating that possibility.

Mazo adds that "before the convention was over a couple of angry Warren men laid the groundwork for the 'Nixon fund' sensation that was to dominate the headlines and the airwaves in mid-September and threaten to ruin Nixon and defeat Eisenhower." This exploded scandal is still an accepted item in anti-Nixon propaganda.

If this is what the chief justice in 1959 regarded as a "dishonest account to promote Nixon" at Warren's expense, it hardly seems important enough to justify such a fiery outburst: If anybody had a right to be irked with Nixon, it was the late Sen. Robert Taft—for Nixon's part in persuading his delegation to vote to unseat Taft's Southern delegates on the dubious ground that they had been "stolen." The chief justice's wrath must have represented an accumulation of dislikes.

In 1957 the chief justice, when invited by the American Bar Association to attend its meeting in London, announced that he would not accept the invitation if Nixon, whom the association also wished to invite, attended the meeting. "Warren," commented the late Frank Hanighen in *Human Events* Jan. 6, 1958, "had no intention of playing second fiddle to a man he always has regarded as an upstart youngster far less deserving than himself of his place of eminence."

However Chief Justice Warren may have felt in those days about giving up his high judicial office to try for the presidency, that notion had wide liberal support both in 1956, when it was feared that Eisenhower might be unable to run again, and in 1960 when it looked like Nixon.

The Gallup Poll in November 1956 reported that a majority of Republican voters would like to see Warren run. Fifty-eight per cent said they would, and only 22 per cent said they wouldn't. They seem to have forgotten 1948, when the presence of Warren on the GOP ticket couldn't save Dewey even from Truman. However, Walter Lippmann looked into his clouded crystal ball and found that "Warren appeals to that great middle class of the voters which includes the Eisenhower Republicans, the independents and—outside the South—the Eisenhower Democrats. . . . Both Eisenhower and Warren believe, as one might say, that there is such a thing as the brotherhood of man."

Another pundit, Max Lerner, chimed in with the observation that "a Warren-*Milton* Eisenhower ticket would not only be a powerful vote-getter, but would make an ideal Republican ticket from the angle of merit and ability." Former Gov. McKeldin of Maryland thought that Warren would "sweep the country."

Of course Ike's improvement in health clobbered that liberal ploy at Republican candidate-making, but in 1960 they were at it again. This time even David Lawrence opined that "if the Republicans really feel they must go 'modern' to win next time, they have in Mr. Warren, as a presidential nominee, the incarnation of 'modernism' in politics." Mr. Lawrence thought the Democrats might take him if they really wanted a liberal. Walter Reuther expressed the view that "if Earl Warren were a candidate for President of the United States, I think he would be entitled to serious consideration from the American labor movement, and would get it." Nixon, of course, was the nominee and lost to Jack Kennedy in a squeaker, much of it the work of Democratic machine corruption.

So here we are again with Nixon the front runner for the GOP nomination and by no means an outsider for the election itself. And here is "the closest thing the United States has had to a Platonic Guardian," as Anthony Lewis described Warren in an article in the London *Times*, soon to be free of judicial restraints and able to take a shot at his old enemy, the conservative Richard Nixon.

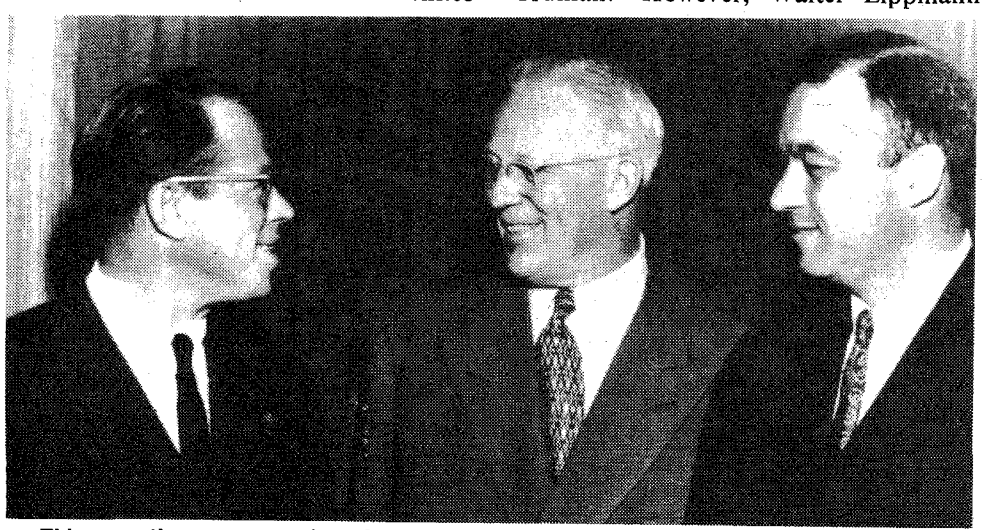
Mr. Lewis sees the "consistent thread" in Warren's career as "the commitment to action and to public responsibility." That's one way of putting it to describe a judge who has felt it his duty to dictate the racial mix in the public schools, increase the difficulties in the way of convicting thugs and murderers, mess up the legislative districts to conform to an unworkable principle called "one man, one vote" (Warren's idea of the "basic case"), forbid school children to pray, and add to the obstacles in the way of proceeding against the Communist enemy.

It's hard to see how such a "Guardian," confronted with the possibility that the government might fall into the hands of those who regard many of his principles as nonsense, could refrain from doing something about it.

What? Of course nobody knows, and "Nothing" may be the right answer. However, if Nixon is nominated, a retired chief justice, ostensibly a Republican, could surely be of use in giving class to the anti-Nixon movement.

The chief justice has announced that he is through with politics, although his decision to remain on the court until the President's liberal nominees are confirmed could be interpreted by the uncharitable as an astute political move. The Constitution may require it, but the net result is to put pressure on the Senate. If the only way to get Warren off the court is to put Lyndon's cronies on it, even conservative senators face a tough decision!

Therefore, without prejudice as the lawyers put it, watch a pass. Even a 77-year-old "activist" can't be ruled out of the game if his conscience, reinforced by a collection of old scores to settle, should tempt him to stay in it.



This was the scene as then California Gov. Earl Warren appointed liberal Thomas Kuchel (left) to the Senate in December 1952. At right is Assemblyman Robert Kirkwood who took over Kuchel's old job as state controller. Kuchel replaced Richard Nixon, who had just been elected vice president.

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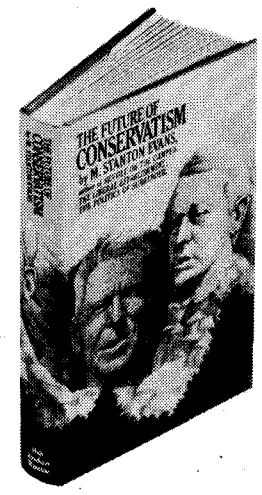

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After Eight Months

Why Detroit Still Has No Newspapers

By HENRY P. ZUIDEMA

For more than eight months Detroit area newspaper readers have not seen their metropolitan dailies. Detroiters have a hard time remembering when picket lines did not circle the plants of the afternoon *News* and the morning *Free Press*.

On the 208th day of the longest newspaper blackout in history, the special mediator, Prof. Nathan Feinsinger (who commutes between his dean of labor law duties at the University of Wisconsin and Detroit to try to keep settlement talks going) told newsmen that if the negotiations so far have proved anything, it is that in the newspaper business collective bargaining has failed.

And after having passed the all-time record—the 238-day tie-up of the Youngstown *Vindicator*, the Detroit negotiations continue to run into new complications. One reason is the proliferation of unions in the newspaper business. Fourteen are involved in Detroit and the leaders of each jealously want to guard against any union getting what the others might interpret as a better deal.

The Detroit publishers, further, see a growing trend toward restrictive contracts which they say threaten their freedom to run their own business.

Publisher Peter B. Clark of the *News* cited as "unreasonable" the demand that a union decide the number of members to be assigned to certain jobs; that the union control hiring, leading to more shifts at premium rates; that supervisory personnel be subject to disciplining by union members, and that a union have control over how many newspapers could be printed within a given time, and the times at which the news could be printed.

Such "uneconomic" issues are reported as largely settled now, and mediator Feinsinger is occupied with getting the unions to accept an across-the-board package deal calling for a $33-a-week increase, over a three-year contract period. Some of the striking unions already have accepted this offer. (The unions, whose members make from $134 to $174 a week, were seeking a $36-a-week increase.)

However, the American Newspaper Guild, which started out as a "craft" union of reporters, news writers and copy editors, currently has thrown a snag into the negotiations by taking a stand-off attitude on a *News* proposal. On the *News*, the only guild members are 83 janitors, maids and watchmen, and the *News* has offered to pay these the same share of the $33 that would be given their "wage counterparts" on the *Free Press*.

On the *Free Press*, however, the "wage counterparts" are members of other unions and only the editorial department is represented by the guild. The guild is not one of the striking unions, but has a contract coming up and has taken a strike vote. Its local president, Tom McMahon, has a puzzler in the *News* offer and is holding off recommending any action on it, pending further negotiations.

So the strike goes on, with criticism mounting from various segments of a news-hungry public and, of course, from the politicians who maintain their images, shining or otherwise, through the medium of the press.

Particularly irked is Mayor Jerome P. Cavanagh, who "just happened" to urge Prof. Feinsinger into acting as a special mediator while Feinsinger was "passing through" Detroit in late March after federal and state mediators appeared to be making no progress. Feinsinger has a reputation for reaching settlements in tough disputes, among them a New York subway strike.

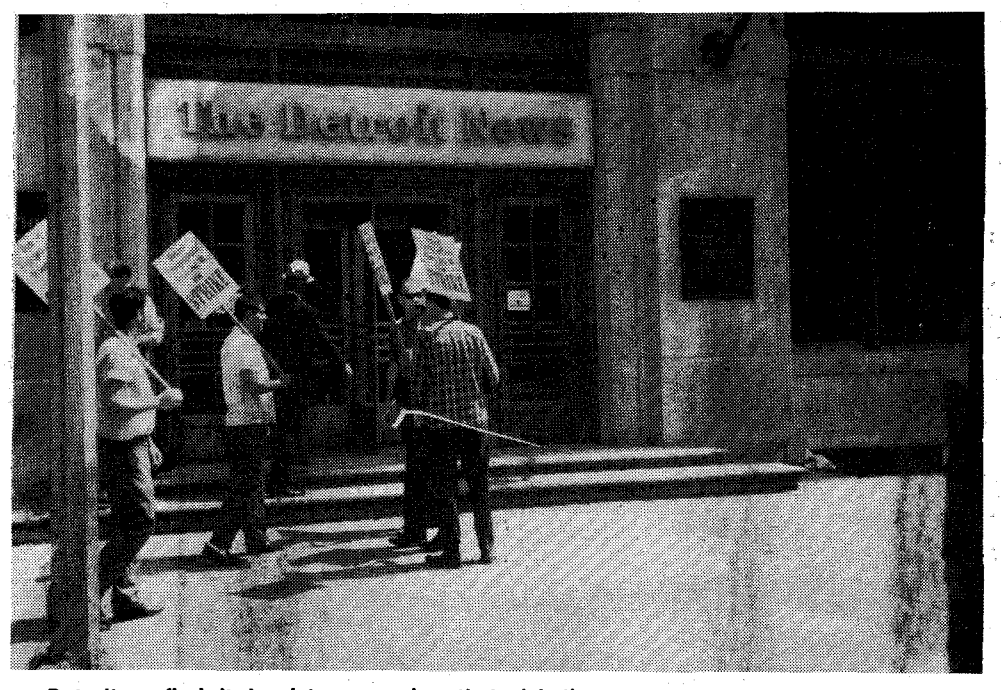
Cavanagh, whose political fortunes depend in large part on the Negro vote, needs press support on such occasions as when he recently approved, in a surprise switch, a stop-and-frisk ordinance passed by the City Council after sharp increases in Detroit's crime rate. Earlier he had opposed such an ordinance because of the opposition of Negro leaders who claimed that such a law would be used chiefly against Negroes. He now has to depend on media other than the dailies to get across his explanation that the Police Department will issue new guidelines to prevent "abuse" of the provisions of the ordinance.

Support of the mayor's current voter registration campaign, under the slogan of "Join the Race," also needed widespread newspaper support.

Gov. George Romney entered the newspaper strike situation when he found time after his withdrawal from campaigning as a liberal candidate for the Republican nomination for President to get back into problems at home.

Romney sought to invoke state powers. A federal court order, however, upheld the *News'* contention that it is in interstate commerce and that federal law applies. In refusing to answer a summons to appear before a special committee of the Michigan Legislature, the publisher of the *News* declined "respectfully" to testify in a state fact-finding inquiry, asserting that state and federal mediators, who are still on call as negotiators, hold greater promise for a settlement.

The Teamsters Union of truck drivers and helpers struck the *News* in mid-November, at a time when its contract and that of other newspaper unions were expiring. The *Free Press* then closed, in accord with its agreement with the *News* to prevent whip-saw union tactics of striking one paper at a time.



Detroiters find it hard to remember that picketing scenes like this in front of the Detroit News were the exception rather than the rule.

Some 3,700 employes of both papers thus were out of work, the *News* keeping a standby crew of about 650 non-union people in its editorial and business offices.

An agreement calling for a $30-a-week increase over three years was reached with the Teamsters on March 15, later modified to include any further increase obtained by other unions. On February 21, however, the Photo Engravers had struck the *News* and on March 8 the Pressmen and Assistants walked out. The Typographical Union called a strike of printers against both papers on March 11 and the Paper and Plate Handlers went on strike the next day.

Interim "strike newspapers" sprung up almost as soon as the strike began last November. Subsequently the *News* brought suit for $175,000 damages against a group of Teamsters Union members, employed in the *News* circulation department before the strike, and a suburban newspaper publisher.

The *News* claims that the defendants planned to start the *Daily Express* before the strike began, that subscriber lists and other property of the *News* was appropriated and that *News* carriers were coerced to deliver the *Express*, on threat that they would lose their *News* routes after the strike ended if they did not work for the *Express*.

The union members named in the suit had organized a distributing company which bought its papers from the suburban publisher. The Express folded in January when Teamsters Union officials, undoubtedly embarrassed by the participation of members in the venture, ordered that more striking members be employed than the enterprise could economically use.

The owners of another interim newspaper, the *Daily Press*, in another suit, seek $3.3 million damages from the Teamsters Union and its officers, claiming that the union put the *Press* out of business on January 22 by ordering its employes, strikers on the big dailies, to stop work and picket the paper. The dispute was over the number of men to be employed.

The damages include $67,000 which owners of the *Daily Press* say was their money, collected by Clair O'Connor, union president, and Elton Schade, secretary-treasurer, from members of the union "and paid to other members of the Detroit local." Attorneys for the *Daily Press* told *Human Events* that they would detail the transactions involved when the case comes to trial.

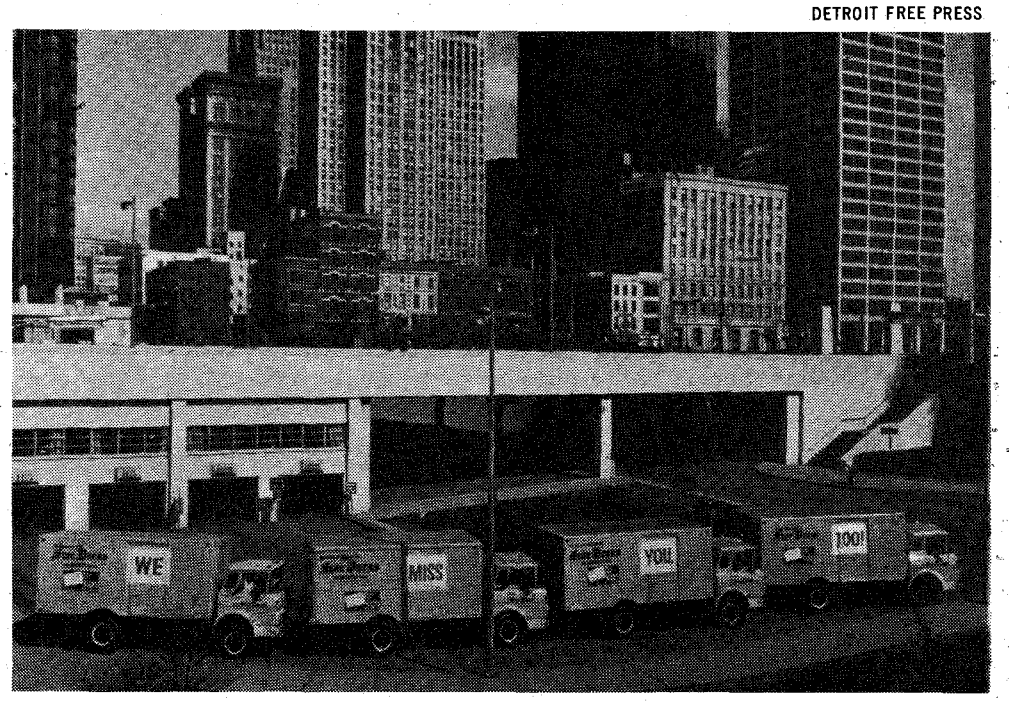
Union finances have been hard hit by the strikes against the two big dailies. The International Printing Pressmen's strike fund and a $400,000 emergency appropriation from its treasury have been exhausted and some Detroit strikers are getting IOU's. Long strikes in other cities have reduced the Newspaper Guild's treasury to less than a half of the $1.5 million on hand six months ago and a new scale of strike-fund assessments is planned.

Detroit publishers have had some strike insurance paid them. The *News* was covered for 50 days at $10,000 a day. The *Free Press* likewise said that insurance had offset "only a small part of our loss." At the beginning and end of the complex labor chain of newspaper publishing, the strike loss is felt from the pulp mills of the north to the piggy banks of some 20,000 newsboys.

When the strike began, the *News* had a circulation of 700,321 daily and 947,155 Sunday. The *Free Press*, after a phenomenal record in circulation building, had a circulation of 590,546 daily and 631,175 on Sunday.

With the teletypes pounding out the events of a fast-moving era, but with the presses dead, a *News* writer commented that a recent award won in connection with coverage of the Detroit riots of 1967 was "tangible evidence that we were once newspapermen ourselves."

DETROIT FREE PRESS



This has been the scene at the off-loading facilities of the Detroit Free Press since the strike began. Note the "We—Miss—You—Too" slogan on the idle trucks.

Mr. Zuidema is a retired Michigan newspaperman. After breaking in on the Booth papers at age 15, he went to work for Sen. Arthur Vandenberg's Grand Rapids Herald, *then moved on to the Detroit* News, *where he was on the city desk for 17 years.*

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RACES of the WEEK

This is another installment of our regular pre-election feature, "Races of the Week." Each week until November, **Human Events** will cover as many key election contests as space permits.

California Senate Contest

Rafferty vs. Cranston

Top California Democrats are "horrified," the New York *Times* reported last week. Why? Because "Max Rafferty, a hero of the Republican right, now has an excellent chance to join the actor, George Murphy, in representing California in the Senate."

Rafferty, the outspoken state superintendent of public instruction, faces former state controller Alan Cranston in November. The contrasts are sharp:

• Rafferty is a potent vote-getter, undefeated at the polls. He was re-elected by more than a million votes two years ago and defeated the supposedly "unbeatable" Thomas Kuchel in the GOP senatorial primary last month. Cranston is a two-time loser, beaten in his party's senatorial primary four years ago by Pierre Salinger, then ousted from office in November 1966.

• Rafferty is an articulate conservative, a foe of big government, a Viet Nam hawk. Cranston is an ultra-liberal, a wheelhorse in the United World Federalists, a Viet Nam dove who favors a "gradual withdrawal" of U.S. troops even while the peace talks are going on.

A central issue in the campaign should be the California Democratic Council, the far-left group that Cranston helped found and served as president.

While Cranston has voiced cautious criticism of CDC excesses in recent months, the fact remains that while he was a council leader the group went on record demanding recognition of Red China, abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, repeal of all loyalty oaths, and "ultimate justice" for Morton Sobell, the Soviet agent implicated with the Rosenbergs.

Cranston is making an all-out appeal to liberal Republicans, lauding Kuchel

MAX RAFFERTY

as a man of "dignity, integrity, honesty and effectiveness." But Kuchel has endorsed Rafferty and virtually all of his top lieutenants are working actively in Rafferty's campaign. (Rafferty for Senate Committee, 3584 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90005).

Rafferty has tabbed lawlessness as the campaign's main issue. "What can a U.S. senator do?" he asks. "He can vote for Supreme Court justices whose records show they will not free [the guilty]. We must stop naming social reformers, political hacks and child-marrying mountain climbers to the Supreme Court."

Rafferty has twice challenged Cranston to debate, but the Democratic nominee has refused even to acknowledge the invitation. Democratic pros admit that he would be no match for the acid-tongued Rafferty. And a Washington newsman who recently interviewed Cranston came away from the session convinced that he was a "mouthful of cliches, evasions and double-talk."

South Dakota Senate Contest

Gubbrud vs. McGovern

On April 20, 1948, the Mitchell (S.D.) *Daily Republic* published a letter to the editor from George McGovern, a localite then attending graduate school at Northwestern University. Young McGovern was angered because the *Daily Republic* had climbed abroad what he termed the "anti-Russian bandwagon" and was "smearing" Henry Agard Wallace, presidential candidate of the Communist-backed Progressive party.

"I take my hat off to this much-smeared man who had the fortitude to take his stand against those powerful forces of fear, militarism, nationalism and greed," McGovern wrote. "I'm tired of listening to the thoughtless jeers and charges of 'crackpot' and 'Communist' being thrown his way."

In conclusion, McGovern asked that someone "take the time to point out to me those specific issues wherein Wallace departs from the Sermon on the Mount."

Twenty years later George McGovern is a United States senator, but his political philosophy has changed little. Time after time the South Dakota solon

ARCHIE GUBBRUD

has lined up with the radical left to assail U.S. Viet Nam policy and urge major cutbacks in defense spending. Examples:

• Brushing aside expert advice that his amendment would jeopardize national security, McGovern fought for a 10 per cent slash in arms development. The proposal was defeated 74 to 2.

• McGovern took the Senate floor to make an impassioned plea for recognition of Red China. He hit U.S. policy as "sterile and short-sighted," then inserted in the *Congressional Record* an article by Oliver Edmund Clubb, whom he described as the "former director of the State Department's Office of Chinese Affairs." What McGovern did not say was that Clubb resigned that post under fire, labeled by the State Department's Loyalty and Security Board a security risk.

McGovern's far-out views on military and foreign affairs are certain to be a major issue as he seeks re-election against a determined challenge from former Gov. Archie Gubbrud, his Republican opponent. Gubbrud, a solid conservative who has directed Richard Nixon's South Dakota campaign, trails McGovern in the early polls, but GOP leaders are optimistic that he can close the gap (Gubbrud for Senate Committee: 328 South Phillips, Sioux Falls, S.D.).

They feel the GOP presidential candidate should take South Dakota by a large margin and give Gubbrud a real boost. They feel, too, that McGovern's anti-Johnson, anti-Humphrey activities have angered moderate Democrats.

McGovern seeks re-election on a platform that he can "do more" for South Dakota. Gubbrud ridicules the claim, noting that South Dakota farmers are in the midst of a major depression, that parity has reached its lowest point in three decades and that the policies of Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman are jeopardizing the state's economy.

Oklahoma Senate Contest

Bellmon vs. Monroney

Six years ago Henry Bellmon was a little-known dirt farmer making his first race for statewide office. Few politicians gave the strapping, 6-foot, 3-inch war hero much chance for victory—in 55 years, no Republican had been elected governor of Oklahoma.

But when the campaign was over, Bellmon had swept into office by more than 70,000 votes and firmly established the two-party system in a Democratic bastion. Bellmon didn't stop there. He made good on his campaign promises of low-cost, efficient government—so good, in fact, that when he left office four years later, voters elected his fellow Republican, Dewey Bartlett, by a healthy margin.

Bellmon headed up the Nixon-for-President drive until earlier this year, stepping down to devote full time to the job of unseating veteran Sen. Mike Monroney. And the experts give him at least an even chance of victory. (Bellmon for Senate Committee, Office Park Plaza, 900 N.E. 63rd, Oklahoma City, Okla. 73105.)

Monroney is a fixture on the Oklahoma political scene. First elected to Congress 30 years ago, he is winding up his second Senate term and faces only nuisance opposition for renomination. Nevertheless, he is plainly worried by the Bellmon challenge.

Private polls indicate that he is unknown to many younger voters and he is returning to the state with great frequency to rebuild his fences. He and Bellmon have scheduled several joint appearances and the GOP nominee, an articulate foe of big government, is expected to make Monroney's support of Administration spending programs a major issue.

Bellmon, who has been on the hustings since last November, is currently touring rural Oklahoma with his family, shaking hands and greeting voters. He will step up the campaign in early September with a series of rallies in which he will articulate his differences with Monroney.

The differences are considerable. A shrewd politico who cultivates the image of a moderate Democrat, Monroney is actually a committed liberal who in 1960 was a last-ditch supporter of Adlai Stevenson for his party's presidential nomination.

HENRY BELLMON

The Democratic lawmaker has been a consistent backer of Kennedy-Johnson programs. Indeed, when he made an abortive bid for the post of Senate majority whip in 1965, his main selling point was the knee-jerk support he had given the Administration. As quoted by the Washington *Daily News*, Monroney said:

"A look at the voting record will show that next to Hubert Humphrey, who voted with the President 84 times, I voted with him 82 times."

Monroney, chairman of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, will get massive support from organized labor. As the Washington *Star* reported earlier this year, "postal and federal employe unions are expected to wage an intensive campaign—within the confines of the Hatch Act—to help get Monroney re-elected."

The last politico to whom the postal unions gave all-out support was not so lucky. Rep. James Morrison (D.-La.) of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee was defeated in his 1966 primary.

Republican Bellmon is campaigning on the same issue of fiscal responsibility that he used so effectively in his 1962 gubernatorial campaign. "There's a lot of frugal farmers in this state," he said after that election. "Every time I got one of their votes, I really got two. The Democrats lost one."

And Mike Monroney is afraid the same equation will prove true this year.

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Lunch With the 'In' Crowd

Anti-War Leftists Plan 'Phase Two' of Campaign

By ALICE WIDENER

On Tuesday, July 9, the day before the Rev. William Sloan Coffin Jr., chaplain of Yale University, was sentenced to two years in jail and given a $5,000 fine for conspiring to defy the Selective Service Act of our country, he happily played host to a leftist "in" crowd at the Terrace Room of the Hotel Roosevelt in New York City. The printed invitation read, "Rev. William Sloan Coffin Jr., on behalf of Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam, and American Documentary Films, cordially invites you to be his guest at luncheon. . . .Mr. David Schoenbrun will speak on the Paris peace negotiations. His talk will be filmed by American Documentary Films for distribution throughout the United States."

If so, more's the pity.

American Documentary Films was started in 1966 with a film, "Sons and Daughters," about the Berkeley student demonstrations. Its president, Jerry Stoll, says the film can teach parents how to follow in their sons' and daughters' demonstrating footsteps. "Sons and Daughters" won first prize at the Leipzig (East Germany) International Film Festival and American Documentary Films claims the film was "sold to the cinema clubs in the Soviet Union."

Early this year the company released its second production, "Vietnam," with David Schoenbrun as narrator. The film is being run by the company as a double bill with Felix Greene's pro-Communist "Inside North Vietnam." American Documentary Films says it copyrighted last year the title "Guerrilla Cinema" and is sponsoring a "guerrilla theater" among farm workers, company communities and black ghettoes.

"A modern *commedia dell'arte* travels to migrant camps and 'poverty areas,'" says the company brochure, "projecting films on the sides of barns and houses, or uses rear-screen projection in a Guerrilla Cinema truck parked in the fields at the end of a row, ready to vanish when authorities are summoned to suppress disruptive unprogrammed education."

Rev. Coffin of Yale appealed at his luncheon for contributions to Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam in order that the latter organization "can make contributions to American Documentary Films." Gerhard Elston of the National Council of Churches sat next to Rev. Coffin and was introduced as "The Mr. Vietnam of the National Council." The guests laughed knowingly and heartily.

Jerry Stoll made a speech about his company, American Documentary Films, which, he says, "bought 22 films from abroad." Among them are "The Flame in Spain" and "West Africa, Another Vietnam?" American Documentary Films says it is developing a "distribution apparatus." It plans to get wide audiences for David Schoenbrun's filmed luncheon talk on Viet Nam in which he explains the morality of his friend Ho Chi Minh's nationalist Communist position and the immorality of the United States' position in Viet Nam.

But—explains Mr. Schoenbrun—Viet Nam isn't the real issue, the main one. It is "the rich-poor struggle." He accused the United States (while a four-man black camera crew was grinding away for American Documentary Films) of "waging an imperialist war in Viet Nam, using blacks as mercenary troops." Rev. William Sloan Coffin Jr. was delighted with guest speaker Schoenbrun.

According to the cocktail conversation among the more than 200 guests, the luncheon marked the end of "phase one" of operations conducted by the leftist "in" crowd. The completion of this phase was quietly boasted about with the statement, "We forced the President of the United States to abdicate." A second achievement of phase one was described as "our victory at Columbia."

In cocktail and luncheon conversation, the "in" crowd made it clear that they are not the slightest bit interested in who the 1968 presidential candidate will be. They regard Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy as a temporarily useful but expendable tool. Two graduate students at Rutgers University described him as "a throwaway."

Only one aspect of phase two was discussed by the "in" crowd Coffin-luncheon guests. "We're going to take the student movement out of the hands of the undergraduates and put it in the hands of politically sophisticated, better disciplined graduate students," a dynamic young woman told a group of listeners. "We have some good ones at Stanford and Chicago. We've brought some good foreign ones in through Fulbright scholarships."

There were several members of the militant National Black Anti-Draft, Anti-War Union present at the luncheon, among them Warren Reeves, who told a member of Women Strike for Peace that the only government he approves of is the present Cuban government. A clergyman smiled at her and said, "We brought down the man in the White House and the establishment at Columbia, we can bring down the whole system."

To bring down our American system will be the aim of phase two in the operations of the leftist "in" crowd. The Viet Nam war is not the main issue. As did President Lyndon Johnson, the next President of the United States will have to cope with them. For him, they were unconquerable. It always is foolish to underestimate an enemy, expecially one who won phase one and is entering on phase two.

(U.S.A. Syndicate)

Holding a press conference following their conviction on counseling young men to avoid the draft are, from left: Dr. Benjamin Spock, Rev. William Sloane Coffin Jr., Mitchell Goodman and Michael Ferber.

□□□

Three to Five Assaults On Saigon Are Expected

By PAUL SCOTT

South Vietnamese authorities now expect from three to five major Communist assaults against Saigon between now and the end of the year.

The first wave of these terror attacks by the North Vietnamese is scheduled later this month or early in August with the final assault coinciding with the presidential election in November.

These are the ominous intelligence warnings that President Johnson discussed with South Viet Nam's President Thieu last week during their Hawaii conference.

As during last February's Tet Holiday offensive, the North Vietnamese again appear to be preparing to link the new attacks against the beleaguered South Vietnamese capital with a country-wide military offensive and general uprising.

President Johnson already has been informed privately that the Communists' aim for the last half of 1968 is to end the Viet Nam war—but on their terms of victory.

The final phase of the North Vietnamese "order of battle" for 1968 calls for the "liberation" of Saigon, the military occupation of the capital city, and political seizure of power from Thieu's pro-U.S. government.

In their private conversations with U.S. negotiators at the Paris peace talks, the tough North Vietnamese diplomats have made it clear that until the U.S. concedes to the Communist demands, the war will go on and will be eventually expanded into Thailand and Cambodia.

"We are here to formally ratify either a diplomatic or military victory, not to negotiate a settlement," Ambassador Averell Harriman, chief U.S. negotiator, was bluntly told by one of the North Vietnamese delegates.

Pro-Mao Reds Step Up Infiltration of SDS

From the Allen-Goldsmith Report

The militantly leftist Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) is being hectically convulsed by a big dose of its own particular brand of trouble-making medicine—raucous brawling and disruptive dissension.

The Progressive Labor party (PLP), a pro-Chinese offshoot of the U.S. Communist party, is aggressively infiltrating SDS in a drive to gain control.

PLP came close to doing that at the recent SDS national convention at Michigan State University, East Lansing. More than 800 delegates from some 200 chapters throughout the country attended the week-long sessions, held behind closely guarded doors, from which the press was truculently barred.

Although PLP's tightly controlled and disciplined group of around 60 was greatly outnumbered, it almost succeeded in capturing domination of the key 11-member National Interim Committee—that formulates SDS policy and strategy.

While thwarted, PLP's power grab was so confusing and disruptive that it largely unhinged the convention.

Delegates spent so much time and energy furiously wrangling over PLP, its revolutionary ideology and tactics that scheduled important SDS affairs got short shrift.

As a consequence, left up in the air were plans to implement a highly significant change in basic SDS concept and thinking.

In the past year SDS has shifted from an "anti-imperialist" to an "anti-capitalist" perspective. It is on the verge of embracing socialism, or in the terminology now glibly common among SDS members, "revolutionary communism spelled with a small c."

To propagate this new ideology, SDS leaders have evolved a two-pronged campaign—to develop strong regional organizations and to involve SDS in ghetto activities.

How far SDS will get in these radical aims remains to be seen.

Taking up militant cudgels for the impoverished and disadvantaged, chiefly Negro, in slums is far different from staging anti-war and other demonstrations and disturbances on university campuses. Entirely different people, factors and issues are involved.

For example: The recent violent student disorders at Columbia University, in which SDS was active, are one thing. But agitating and organizing "revolutionary consciousness" among ghetto dwellers is something very different.

That's the basic SDS problem, but not for the pro-Chinese Communist PLP.

To this small but experienced clique of revolutionaries there is little difference between creating chaos and upheavals on college campuses and among the ignorant and impoverished in fetid slums.

PLP came into being in New York City in April 1965 at a so-called national convention of Communists expelled from the U.S. Communist party for following the Peking line. A 20-member "National Committee" was named to direct the organization until the next convention. PLP has a number of publications, among them a theoretical quarterly, a monthly magazine, and so-called newspapers in New York City and on the West Coast.

In New York PLP has extensively infiltrated SDS and considerably determines its policy there. This was a subject of angry argument at the Lansing convention.

The Communist party's designation of a Negro woman as its presidential candidate was a deliberate ploy to garner Negro support. The original plan was to make Gus Hall, long-time CP general secretary, the standard-bearer. But Moscow ordered otherwise, and he obediently made way for Mrs. Charles Mitchell, 38, Communist for 22 years.

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Rocky's New War Plan Courts Peacenik Vote

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

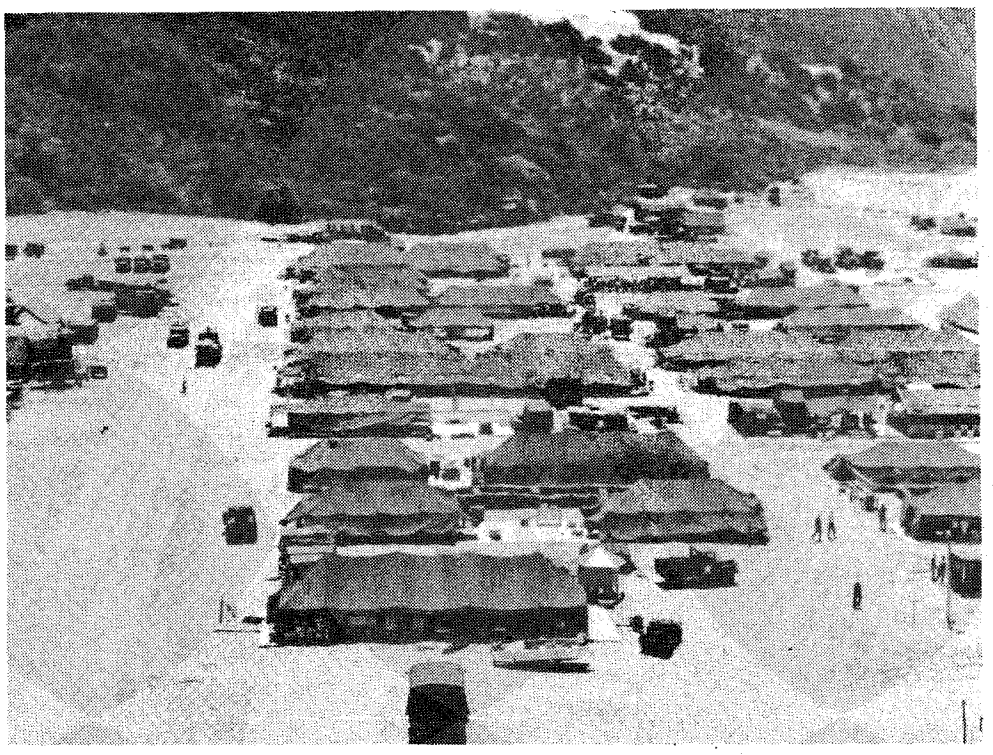
In his new four-point plan for Viet Nam, Nelson Rockefeller has doctored the Gavin enclave thesis with a few political points to make this bitter medicine more palatable to the public.

He has proposed: (1) A pullback by both sides and the introduction of an international police force into the buffer zone. (2) A withdrawal of North Vietnamese and American forces from South Viet Nam. (3) Free elections, with the Viet Cong participating under a pledge of the National Liberation Front to renounce the use of force. (4) Negotiation between North and South Viet Nam to explore interest in reunification. If these proposals are rejected by North Viet Nam, Rockefeller would withdraw U.S. forces to protect the cities, cease search and destroy missions and build up the South Vietnamese military forces.

If Rockefeller proposes to establish the buffer zones along the boundaries of South Viet Nam with Laos, Cambodia and North Viet Nam, North Viet Nam will of course refuse to give up the land it now controls or influences. If he proposes to establish the buffer zones inside South Viet Nam, turning over provinces of the country to North Viet Nam occupation, South Viet Nam would of course refuse. It knows it would never recover in a peace conference what it surrendered in an armistice. The Rockefeller peace plan is entirely impractical.

In practice, this plan reduces to the enclave defense. Gov. Rockefeller has embraced the thesis that the United States cannot win in Viet Nam and that it can cut its losses by withdrawing to a defense of the coastal cities. In defense of this conclusion, he argues that Red China and the Soviet Union are committed in this war, even to the use of nuclear weapons, and that the United States must therefore resolve the issue by negotiation.

If you cannot win, what is there to negotiate? Only the terms of surrender. The alternative is a long war which Rockefeller clearly does not propose to suffer. It is cynical duplicity to suggest that negotiation under these conditions could win an honorable peace.



Gov. Rockefeller wants U.S. troops to pull back to "enclaves" like this Cam Ranh Bay complex. Rockefeller seems unconcerned that such a strategy would in effect hand over most of South Viet Nam to the Communists.

Gov. Rockefeller is dead wrong in his crucial appraisal of Red China and the Soviet Union. His argument that these powers are prepared to resort to nuclear warfare with the United States rather than have Ho Chi Minh cease his aggression against South Viet Nam is obvious nonsense. The Soviet Union is not going to expose its industry to destruction for all or any part of Viet Nam. Yet this erroneous premise is the foundation not only for the Rockefeller peace policy but of the Johnson peace policy.

Of course the Soviet Union would like to see Ho Chi Minh succeed in his conquest of South Viet Nam. It is spending good rubles to help him and to whittle down the United States in the bargain. But to involve the Soviet Union in war with the United States is a horse of a different color. There is nothing in Viet Nam that could extenuate such adventurism in the Soviet leadership.

Premier Khrushchev did not barge into nuclear war when President Kennedy imposed a quarantine on Cuba. Any presidential candidate who believes that Soviet and Red Chinese leaders would expose their countries to war with the United States and thereby risk the survival of communism is simply unfit to lead this country.

As to the enclave defense, once you have pulled back to the cities and turned the rest of the country over to the aggressors, what is there to fight about? How can South Viet Nam ever again claim sovereignty over the territory it concedes to North Viet Nam? An enclave defense is a surrender of South Viet Nam.

President Johnson was right four years ago when he said that we must convince Hanoi it cannot win. But instead of doing that, he has so fought the war as to convince Hanoi that it can win. The way to show the enemy that he cannot win is to beat him on his own ground. President Johnson will not permit our side to do that. He has refused to do what he said was necessary to win the peace.

Presidential irresolution has involved us in a long war of attrition. Gov. Rockefeller is now moving to the left of President Johnson with a camouflaged plan of surrender. Despite the Rockefeller protestations against abandoning our obligations in South Viet Nam, peaceniks and Soviet strategists recognize his proposal as a plan of quick surrender.

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Mr. Watson's Postal Threats

From the Chicago *Tribune*

The first visible effects of the federal economies ordered by Congress, it seems, are going to be in the postal service. Postmaster General Watson has ordered his department not to extend delivery service to any new subdivisions and has set up a timetable for substantial further reductions in service.

Unless Congress promptly exempts the post office from the economy requirements, Mr. Watson told the House Ways and Means Committee, post offices will have to remain closed on Saturdays by the end of July, Saturday home mail deliveries (except two-hour opening of general delivery windows) will end July 27. The department's announcement said the effective date of Saturday delivery service will be announced later. Sen. John J. Williams promptly asked Watson to tell him how much the Post Office Department would save by cutting out Saturday deliveries and said he would see that Congress made the cuts itself.

The cut in federal spending was long overdue, and when government spending is cut, the people must be prepared to part with some government services. But having said this, we are far from persuaded that the postal crisis is as serious as Mr. Watson suggests.

Bureaucrats are like little children in some ways, and perhaps in a good many ways. When a toy is taken out of their hands, they promptly set up a howl and try to make life as difficult as possible for everybody within earshot. Cutting postal service is perhaps the quickest way to get the attention of the public. The theory is that the public will then complain to Congress, Congress will stop insisting on economies, and, presto, the baby will stop crying. The trick is an old one, in nurseries and in Washington.

What Mr. Watson threatens amounts to a cut of about 17 per cent and ultimately 33 per cent in home deliveries, which constitute by far the most time-taking part of the post office's job. In addition, there would be cuts in counter service at post offices.

He blames the cutback on a measure which cannot reduce his manpower by more than about 10 per cent at the most. What the law requires, specifically, is that the executive departments let their employment drop, by leaving one out of every four vacancies unfilled, until it reaches the level of June 30, 1966. It is true that this will hit the Post Office sooner than other departments, because of its heavy turnover in personnel, but the loss will still be no more than 10 per cent.

Mr. Watson's howl seems out of proportion to the pain which this staff reduction inflicts, especially when we are paying twice as much for postage as we did 10 years ago. We trust that Congress will see that economies are imposed in all of the vast but obscure reaches of the bureaucracy as strictly as they are imposed in our own mailboxes.

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By M. Stanton Evans
(Editor, Indianapolis *News*)

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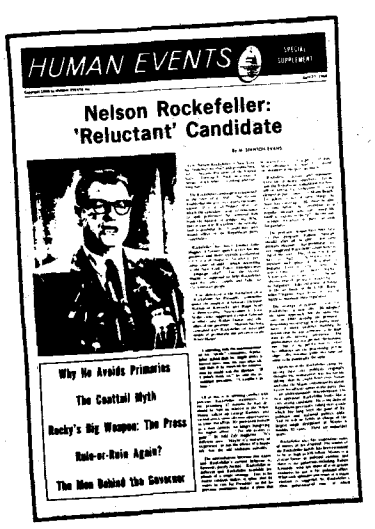

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Our Historians Have Neglected More Than the Negro

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

They are making a big issue about the way our historians have ignored Negro contributions to the growth of America. Well, far be it from me to defend the omission of important Negro names from our textbooks.

I think it would be a good thing if our college students were to be told that the man who invented the lasting machine, which revolutionized the shoe industry, was a Negro named Jan Matzeliger; or that two Negroes, J.H. and S.L. Dickinson, developed the player piano; or that the men responsible for giving us the potato chip (Hyman B. Thomas), the golf tee (George F. Grant) and the mop holder (Thomas W. Stewart) all had melanin in their skin.

But when you come right down to it, the case against our historians is not so much that they have ignored Negro inventors, ranchers, cowboys and artisans. The real case against our historians is that they have ignored practically all of the productive white people, too.

Our history books have, by and large, been politically and martially oriented: we have studied the strategies of our political parties, the activities of our statesmen and politicians, and the campaigns of our generals. But our Arthur Schlesingers have not exhibited much enthusiasm for writing about non-political creativity.

I never learned of Elijah McCoy, the 19th Century Negro inventor who held more than 75 patents, when I was in college. But then I never learned about Charles (Boss) Kettering of General Motors, the white man who developed the automobile self-starter on order from Henry Leland of the Cadillac Co., either.

A New York *Times* writer accuses us of slighting Dr. Revlon Harris, the Negro who made the first American analysis of the German V-2 rocket. But how many college students know anything about Robert H. Goddard, a white man, who labored obscurely to develop 200 basic patents in rocketry before the Germans ever developed a V-2 to be analyzed?

I don't know how many stories I have read recently about the Negro runaway slave, Crispus Attucks, who was the first man to die in the Boston Massacre. I first learned about Crispus Attucks 10 years ago when I was visiting in Indianapolis, where they have a school that is named after him. The Crispus Attucks basketball team has spread the name and fame of our first Revolutionary martyr, who happened to be black, throughout Hoosierland. But can anyone tell us the names of any of the whites who died in the Boston Massacre along with Attucks?

The point is that our historians are a generally negligent lot when it comes to investigating the tides of common life. They don't tell you about the Negro inventor of the shoe lasting machine. But where is the college student, white or black, who knows the name of Lyman Blake, the white man who devised the machine that sews soles to uppers mechanically? Blake sold his invention to another white man, Gordon McKay, who gets the credit for having invented the "McKay sewing machine." But even this bit of misinformation is not taught in any general college history class that I have ever heard about.

True enough, an occasional Charles Beard or Garet Garrett will give due recognition to a Cornelius Vanderbilt, or a Henry Ford, or an Eli Whitney, in a standard historical text. But only the top-drawer industrial and technological characters get mention. The white man who invented the lumberman's cant hook (Joseph Peavey) remains in obscurity along with the Negro who invented ice cream (Augustus Jackson).

Ignorance, schmignorance! Certainly the Negro student has a case against teachers who overlook the contributions of his race to our history. But our white students who would like to know something that goes beyond the names and careers of the big political and military heroes have a case, too.

As for our purely political histories, the writers of them have not been anti-Negro. You don't hear about Negro Presidents and Negro Supreme Court justices of past times for the simple reason that we haven't had any (I am talking about pre-Thurgood Marshall days, of course). But when Negro leader Booker T. Washington visited the White House in Teddy Roosevelt's day, it certainly got into the books. It is hardly the fault of our historians that Booker T. Washington is now looked down upon as an Uncle Tom.

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Where Are the Hungry?

When the Feds Hit Rappahannock

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

Scrabble, Va.:—Well, we are having a scandal in our county just now, and all of a sudden the Great World Outside, by which is meant the world on east of Warrenton, has intruded upon the even tenor of our ways. Rappahannock County has been hit by the poverty program. It's not exactly an insult, maybe, but it's nothing to be proud of either.

The federal government has been giving away food since 1935, but Rappahannock has always been too proud to go along. What happened, it appears, is that about three months ago the U.S. Department of Agriculture got its list of low-income counties down to 44 hard-core hold-outs in the nation as a whole. The Poor People's Campaign was pouring on plenty of political pressure. Someone in the Atlanta regional office decided our time had come.

The first anyone knew of it locally was around the first of May—just before the Gold Cup races—when Newbill Miller got a letter from Atlanta. Newbill is chairman of our board of supervisors. He is a ruggedly handsome fellow, a farmer and real estate man who knows just about everyone in the county. His wife is postmaster at the county seat. She has red hair.

The people in Atlanta put it on the line: Rappahannock County could take the food program voluntarily, or the Federals would start it up anyhow. Hungry people had to be fed. Newbill wrote back that he didn't know of any real hunger in the county, and neither did the health and welfare officials.

The Atlanta people wrote back that the 1960 census showed that 51.8 per cent of the families had a median income below $3,000. Newbill said that didn't mean anything, because practically everyone had a garden, a few chickens and a couple of pigs. Besides, jobs were going begging. Atlanta wasn't impressed.

The next thing that happened was that Jimmy Falls was cutting hay one morning down at the lower end of my place, when three men came along in a big car. They hallooed; Jimmy got down off the tractor, and they all shook. It turned out that the men were from USDA. They had heard that Jimmy once ran a grocery business. They offered him a contract to run the new food center three days a month. He thought it over for a while and finally agreed. A little later the men hired young Garfield Burke to serve as Jimmy's assistant.

Meanwhile, the Federals had rented the old grocery and hardware store that T. C. Lea's father used to run just down the street from the courthouse in Little Washington. (We call it Little Washington to avoid confusion with Big Washington, D.C.) The store had been vacant for a couple of years, the green paint peeling from the walls, but it suited the purpose well. T. C. Lea is our county judge. A good man.

The Federals were under some misapprehension that our county is mostly colored, it being so statistically poor. Actually we are 4,423 white and 945 nonwhite. Anyhow, the people from Atlanta were under orders to hire a colored man as eligibility supervisor. They scoured the county before they came up with old Charlie Lewis. He is highly regarded, but no one ever thought of him in clerical terms. He gave the job all he had, but the figuring proved too much. He quit on the fifth day—that was last Friday—and a white lady took over.

That is the way it is. Jimmy and Garfield are dutifully handing out dried beans, corn meal and 12 other commodities to the 30-odd families that have qualified so far. The affair hasn't exactly torn the county asunder, like the hiring of a new game warden, but it has created some heated conversations.

One faction says that as long as the government is giving food away, Rappahannock might as well get in on the act. An opposing faction says that's wrong in principle. Well, says the first faction, you don't object to big farmers getting paid for taking land out of cultivation. Others insist the churches and welfare department are capable of doing whatever needs to be done. The talk goes on all night.

The Federals pulled a coup when they got Jimmy and Garfield, for Jimmy is one of the nicest guys in the county—he teaches Sunday school at the Woodville Baptist Church—and everyone agrees that nobody named Burke would be in this thing if it weren't all right. Even so, it promises to be a long, hot summer up our way. There's been plenty of rain and the weeds stand six feet high. If you could bale thistles and sell 'em like hay, we'd all be millionaires and the Feds could go back to Atlanta.

(Copyright 1968, Washington Star Syndicate)

Unreported Speech Abroad Gives Reuther's Global Strike Plan

By VICTOR RIESEL

Rome:—Not all the vital news of this continent is made on riotous streets. Not all of it crashes into overnight headlines.

Some of it—just as revolutionary—is made at quiet unreported conferences such as the parley up in Turin recently, at which Walter Reuther's machine gun-tongued oratory stirred hundreds of powerful union chiefs from nations across the world.

The embattled red-haired auto union president, amid cheers and applause, developed the first concept of a global strike.

They loved him in that Italian auto manufacturing center when he spoke of the swiftly approaching hour of a single strike crippling a single industry all along the line from Britain to Sweden to Germany to Japan to Australia to Argentina to Mahwah, N.J., and of course, Detroit.

Such strategy could shut down, at a given signal, all auto production across the world.

This then could bring pressure on Ford, General Motors, Chrysler, Volkswagen, Daimler-Benz, Fiat, Rootes and other car manufacturers, if one "metalworkers'" union in one country has a collective bargaining dispute with one auto firm in any of 15 nations of the free world.

All this could be coordinated by an international labor network virtually never discussed, except by insiders, in the U.S. Its official name is the World Automotive Company Councils, made up of unions in the automobile production industry on all continents.

This is a union force sired by Reuther and the equally little-known but massive six-million-member International Metalworkers' Federation (IMF) headquartered in Geneva. The IMF's automotive division is headed by Reuther. In mid-May, right after the United Auto Workers were suspended from the AFL-CIO, Reuther flew to Turin for a global conference of this IMF division.

There on May 16 he talked of the future of the global coordinating campaign. The first move, he suggested, would be to attempt to force the auto companies, which have installations in many nations, to sign contracts with common expiration dates.

As interpreted by European labor leaders with whom I've been talking, this would mean coordinating the contract expirations first on this continent, from Scandinavia to Sicily. The drive would fan out to Africa, Latin America, Australia, across to Asia and of course to the bargaining with the big Detroit-based auto corporations.

At some point all contracts everywhere would expire at the same time, thus making possible a single worldwide stoppage.

Reuther and his world colleagues then would attempt to bargain jointly on intercontinental standards—on wages, vacations, holidays, pensions, working conditions and welfare. At one point Reuther said that even now, if "they" get tough in Latin America, "they" will have to deal with "us" in Detroit.

This is the first time in labor's history that the concept of global unionism has been projected and spelled out right down to the picket line. This will not be difficult to implement in a year or two when continents will be but two or three jet hours away.

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Russia's Disarmament Proposals Would Render the U.S. Helpless

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

Which comes first: disarmament or peace?

For at least 2,000 years people have argued this problem. Not always clearly. Jesus suggested turning the other cheek to personal aggressors, which sounds like extreme pacifism. On the other hand, he urged his followers to give to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, presumably including taxes for the support of the Roman legions.

Over the last years American Presidents have revealed their difference about disarmament and peace by their actions: Eisenhower emphasized American superiority in nuclear weapons, Kennedy and Johnson as much immediate dis-

Soviet Premier Kosygin's "peace" proposals are but another in a long series of Soviet "disarmament" moves.

armament as the Soviet Union would accept on a basis of nuclear parity.

Anyhow, what is the good of disarmament agreements without on-the-spot inspection, especially with a country whose spokesmen repudiate any morality that does not specifically aid the cause of communism?

This, I think, is the question Americans should ask in judging the recent wire-point memorandum by Comrade Kosygin.

Let us look at each proposal separately.

No. 1, a ban on the use of nuclear weapons, means that in case of an attack on West Europe by superior Soviet conventional forces, NATO would be powerless to prevent it.

No. 2, measures on ending the manufacture of nuclear weapons and reducing existing stockpiles could be useful, provided they include complete inspection. Otherwise they mean nothing. The same goes for No. 3, the limitation and subsequent reduction of means of nuclear delivery.

No. 4, the ban on flights of bombers carrying nuclear weapons beyond national frontiers and the limitation of movement of missile-carrying submarines, would tend to put Europe, the Middle East and the Far East at the mercy of Soviet attacks, since America's only effective reply would be smashing Russia by intercontinental missiles—which it has promised not to use.

The ban on underground tests of nuclear weapons, Kosygin's Point Five, would prevent the United States from catching up with Russia in larger bombs and from further developing those multi-headed bombs which will greatly multiply our deterrent capacity.

No. 6, the ban on the use of chemical and bacteriolog al weapons means absolutely nothing unless all such existing weapons are also destroyed under international inspection.

Kosygin's seventh proposal, the liquidation of foreign bases, would also free Russia from the fear of U.S. tactical and middle-range nuclear bombs and in addition make American forces now ringing the Soviet Union withdraw to the United States and to Guam—no more protection of Southeast Asia or Japan! Russia, save in East Germany and possibly in Egypt, has no such bases.

No. 8, regional disarmament, has no relevance to the military situation and is intended to force Israel to withdraw from the territories it occupied in 1967, with no peace treaty signed by the Arabs.

Only Kosygin's ninth proposal, peaceful uses of the sea bed and ocean floor, seems harmless.

Summing up: Far from being a sign of any change of heart in Moscow, the Kremlin's latest offer is a bag of tricks intended to take from the United States what little of our former military preponderance has survived the disastrous Kennedy-Johnson peace policy.

Coming from a country that is supporting Ho's war of aggression in Viet Nam, Laos and Thailand; that has rearmed and is directing the Arab armed forces; that is steadily challenging NATO and the Central Treaty powers in the Middle East; that has supported if not planned North Korea's seizure of the U.S.S. *Pueblo* and later shanghaied an American troop jet with over 200 servicemen, Kosygin's point memorandum is a transparent joke which none but doctrinaire pacifists can take seriously.

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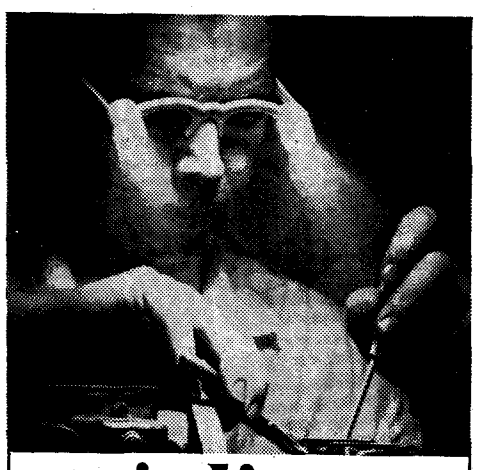

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ACCENT ON THE RIGHT by Leonard E. Read (Foundation for Economic Education, Irvington-On-Hudson, N.Y. 114 pages. $1.25 paper, $2 cloth. Order directly from publisher).

The essayist and libertarian philosopher, Leonard Read, is a vigorous advocate of an axiom borrowed from the late Albert J. Nock, that one can best contribute to human progress through the technique of self-improvement—the refinement of one's own thinking. It is a point to be profitably meditated by those (and is anyone exempt?) who suffer intermittent flashes of frustration over a political process in which principle is so often the victim of strategy.

As an alternative to political or ideological evangelism, Read would have each individual strive to attain a level of excellence which would inspire others. "The improvement of one's self," he writes, "is the world's biggest project any individual can undertake . . . reforming others is an utter impossibility, while gaining [personal] awareness is always within the realm of the possible." Like it or not, "this is just about as far as any one of us can go in improving society."

For those inclined to heed the trumpet call to self-improvement, Mr. Read's profound observations about the nature of man and his socio-political institutions would be a good place to begin. From his outpost at the Foundation for Economic Education Mr. Read in **Accent on the Right** makes another important contribution to the literature of freedom. This thin volume abounds with some of the clearest expressions of libertarian ideology in print.

Mr. Read will hardly care if the politically minded reader chooses to dismiss him as a hopeless utopian. He is, to borrow his own striking term, very much an "agent of civilization" who views his role in a broad historical context. He is much less interested in manipulating voting habits than in setting standards that will motivate that very tiny minority of potential leaders in freedom which he, echoing Nock, calls 'The Remnant.' Read's standards, as set out in this and earlier writings, are indeed exacting. But nobody will be bored by his articulate presentation of them.

INCIDENT AT BORIS GLEB: The Tragedy of Newcomb Mott by DeWitt S. Copp (Doubleday, 280 pages, $4.95)

"The insidious feature of the Newcomb Mott case was that it began on such an undisturbing note. There appeared to be little cause for grave alarm because a young American had been arrested for illegally crossing the Russian border. For some 20 to 30 minutes he had trespassed in Soviet territory, his captors charged.

"Newcomb Mott was 27 years old, a straightforward, self-reliant American, accustomed to traveling in foreign countries. . . .

"Instead, KGB despotism functioned at its worst. Mott was kept for some 18 weeks in solitary confinement, an ordeal which aimed to and did shake his self-assurance. His captors withheld his mail and led him to believe he had been deserted by his family and his government. A woman interrogator suggested that Mott propose that he be exchanged for a Soviet spy held by the United States.

"The exchange proposal was rejected by the U.S. Virtually the entire handling of the Mott case by the State Department in Washington is branded by author DeWitt S. Copp as lacking in firmness and aggressiveness. . . .

Copp . . . advances a theory that in his walk from Norway into Soviet Russia, Mott saw someone or something the Russians wanted to hide. Perhaps, the author says, Mott did not realize the significance of what he saw, but the KGB was aware that U.S. intelligence officers would draw the information from him and evaluate it accurately. In any event, Mott was sentenced to a year and a half at hard labor.

"The remainder of the story is tragic and contradictory. Mott said goodby to his parents after his Murmansk trial. His last letter, a lengthy communication to William T. Shinn, U.S. vice consul in Moscow, continued discursive material which Copp interprets as a veiled message that his life was in danger.

"Finally came the Russian announcement that Mott had slashed his throat aboard a train en route to a prison work camp. The circumstances as described were incredible and an autopsy report contained discrepancies, in Copp's view. . . .

"Post mortem examination in the U.S. and interviews by Copp with pathologists elicited strong doubts that Mott could have slashed his throat so severely with a razor blade, nor have administered most of the 65 wounds on his body. . . ."

—Joseph G. O'Keefe
in the Washington **Evening Star**

THE PEOPLE'S PRESIDENT: The Electoral College in American History and the Direct-Vote Alternative by Neal R. Peirce (Simon & Shuster, 400 pages, $8.95)

"Neal Peirce in **The People's President** has done a remarkable job of demonstrating how loosely the reins of power are held in the federal government. One need do no more than read his catalogue of 20 national elections beginning with the Jackson-Adams contest of 1828 and continuing through the Kennedy-Nixon election of 1960—each an instance where a shift of a few votes in a few states would have changed the results—to recognize the weakness of the Electoral College System.

"To remedy this weakness there have been countless amendments introduced seeking a wide variety of changes, the most frequent ones being: (1) removing discretionary power in the electors; (2) distributing the electoral votes on the basis of results in congressional districts; (3) a nationwide popular vote.

"Mr. Peirce catalogues more than 500 proposed amendments which have been introduced in the course of our history. Many of these, of course, were identical in content but their sheer number points up the concern felt in the nation since the inception of the system. Of the 500 amendments which have been proposed, about 100 have suggested election of the President and vice president by direct ballot.

"Few Americans realize that even to this day in many places . . . the presidential elector is not an agent of the electorate, but is in fact free and independent to vote for whom he pleases regardless of the popular vote in a given state. This fight has occurred over and over again in many states in the Deep South and it is still going on. . . .

"**The People's President** is timely. With the withdrawal of President Johnson as a candidate, the Democratic convention is wide open. Gov. George Wallace has indicated his intention of running for the presidency as an independent. And the 1968 election as of this writing could very well end up in the House of Representatives if any of the candidates fails to receive a majority of the electoral college vote. . . ."—Rep. Hale Boggs (D.-La.) in **Book World**

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Can We Guarantee Jobs?

By HENRY HAZLITT

When a recent Gallup Poll asked people whether they favored a guaranteed income for everybody, whether he was willing to work or not, only 36 per cent said yes and 58 per cent were opposed. When the pollsters asked the same people whether the government ought to "guarantee enough work so that each family that has an employable wage earner would be guaranteed enough work each week to give him a wage of about $60 a week or $3,200 a year," 78 per cent answered yes. Only 18 per cent were opposed.

Yet the plausible notion that the government should become the "employer of last resort" would prove as unsound in practice as the guaranteed income without any work attached.

The politicians in power could certainly not afford to be accused of of-

New York City Mayor John Lindsay made $5 million available for summer jobs after a rioting spree by city youths.

fering even harder jobs or worse conditions than the poorest private employers. Therefore, they would have to supply easier jobs and much better conditions, and would probably attract many workers out of existing private marginal jobs into the government-made jobs. For most of those that the plan would affect, the government would in fact become the employer of first resort.

There is already a demand for workers for the jobs that need to be done, and for which employers are willing and able to pay the legal minimum wage. The government would therefore either have to invent jobs that do not need to be done, or at least are not worth having done at the minimum wage.

The invented jobs, moreover, would have to be where the jobless were. The government could not announce that there were plenty of guaranteed jobs in the forests of Alaska for the slum dwellers of New York City—unless it also provided guaranteed transportation for the workers, their families and their furniture, and guaranteed their housing, supermarkets, living conditions, and so on.

Under such a program it is obvious that most of the made work would be pointless and useless, and most of the made jobs needless and phony.

That is not the end. Suppose the workers with guaranteed jobs were incapable of learning to perform them, or did far more spoilage than usable production? Suppose they habitually showed up an hour or two late, or took three hours for lunch, or came in only to collect their pay, or ignored all instructions, or were unruly, or committed acts of sabotage and vandalism, or kicked the boss downstairs? Their jobs would be guaranteed, wouldn't they?

Anyone who thinks I am imagining problems need merely read the details of the riot of 1,500 youngsters outside New York's City Hall on July 10. They were protesting cutbacks in the city's projected summer job program. I quote the account in the New York *Times*:

"Some of the youngsters (most of them teen-agers from the city's white, Negro and Puerto Rican poverty areas) smashed six automobiles parked outside City Hall, hurled rocks, bottles and broken glass at the police and looted frankfurter wagons and newsstands in the area. At the height of the disturbance, bands of youngsters fanned out from City Hall Park, smashed several windows in the nearby Woolworth Building and knocked down and robbed a 50-year-old woman."

These tactics were rewarded handsomely. The very next day Mayor John Lindsay announced that the city would appropriate $5 million for more summer jobs. Before that he had repeatedly asserted that no city money was available for such jobs.

All this doesn't mean that the problem of providing more real jobs for the unskilled and for teen-agers is insoluble. As some eminent economists have already pointed out, the most important step would be to repeal the existing federal minimum-wage law.

(Copyright 1968, Los Angeles Times)

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What FDR Said

From the Birmingham *News*

Would you believe that 30 years ago we were being told that Social Security would eliminate poverty and make welfare programs obsolete?

Oh, yes, on Nov. 27, 1934, President Franklin D. Roosevelt wrote to Col. Edward M. House:

"There will, of course, be a certain number of relief cases where work will not furnish that answer, but it is my thought that in these cases all of the relief expenditures should once more be borne by the states and localities as they used to be."

(Mark you, this is FDR talking, not Ronald Reagan.)

"The lessons of history, confirmed by the evidence immediately before me, show conclusively that continued dependence upon relief induces a spiritual and moral disintegration fundamentally destructive to the national fibre."

The old-age benefits system was still to come; and Social Security; and unemployment compensation; and a host of programs that are nowhere near becoming obsolete—programs originally designed to relieve states and localities of their burdens.

How quaint Roosevelt's rhetoric sounds today above the clatter of the "War on Poverty"! The "abolition of relief altogether" just wasn't around the corner—not by a long shot. And it still isn't.

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PRICE STABILITY?— Under the Johnson Administration, prices are now increasing at an annual rate of 4 per cent a year, a rate of inflation that even liberal economic columnist Sylvia Porter calls "intolerable over any period." "A 4 per cent yearly rise," says Miss Porter, " . . . would slash the 100-cent dollar in your pocket today to a buying power of only 67.6 cents in 10 years and to a buying power of only 45.6 cents in 20 years."

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How 'Cost Effectiveness' Mania Has Jeopardized U.S. Security

Vice Adm. Hyman Rickover charged recently that Pentagon obsession with "cost effectiveness" has jeopardized national security. In closed-door testimony before the Senate Preparedness subcommittee, Rickover said the "cost effectiveness" program had seriously and perhaps fatally delayed U.S. development of a nuclear attack submarine.

The Soviet Union, he said, is making giant strides in underwater warfare, boasts far more submarines than the U.S. and will achieve total supremacy within a few years.

"I think it is probably too late even now," he said.

"Cost effectiveness" is a management technique introduced by Defense Secretary Robert McNamara in 1961 in which development of new weapons is put off until massive studies on "alternatives" have been completed. Rickover said the program is frequently used to "study [new programs] to death."

The outspoken Rickover, father of the nuclear submarine, said that the little-known Office of Systems Analysis had become the dominant power within the Pentagon. This office, set up to administer the "cost effectiveness" program, has turned "into the ultimate decision-making organization," Rickover said.

It is able, he charged, to "throttle or delay" any project at will and has virtually "taken over the main functions of administering the Defense Department."

"It is not at all uncommon for a junior officer or young civilian assigned to the Office of Systems Analysis to have more influence and say in shaping a decision concerning the Navy than the secretary of the Navy or the chief of Naval Operations."

The situation, he declared, "is fraught with danger to national security."

Rickover said that Dr. Alain C. Enthoven, who heads the office, had circulated a memo throughout the Pentagon stressing that "price was more important than performance." An incredulous Sen. Stuart Symington asked Rickover:

"Did you ever know of anything like that before, in either private business or government?"

"I have heard of bankrupt businesses," Rickover replied.

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WHAT'S ENEMY THINKING? — "What's on the enemy's mind? Consider the Paris 'peace' talks in connection with this statement some time ago by North Viet Nam's Gen. Nguyen Van Vinh: 'In fighting while negotiating, the side which fights more strongly will compel the adversary to accept its conditions.'" —From the Chattanooga *News-Free Press*

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Gun Bill Amendment

By SEN. PETER DOMINICK (R.-Colo.)

In the District of Columbia crime bill, we said that when anyone was convicted of a crime while using a gun, then the judge, in sentencing him, had the option of giving in addition to the ordinary sentence an indeterminate sentence up to life. And if it happened to be a repeater criminal the judge had no right to give either a suspended sentence or a probationary sentence. I have used this same theory in introducing an amendment to the gun bill.

Gun Laws Flouted

By REP. GENE SNYDER (R.-Ky.)

Hearings of the House Ways and Means Committee concerning gun control legislation passed 30 years ago, indicated the laws were not being enforced. One specific example was developed of a dealer who had shipped over 40 guns in interstate commerce to ex-convicts. They found out from the Justice Department that nothing was being done to cancel this dealer's license, and that there were very few regulations promulgated to enforce these two firearms laws.

In 1965—three years ago—the Ways and Means Committee asked the Justice Department and the Treasury Department to immediately adopt enforcement procedures for the National Firearms Act of 1934 and the Federal Firearms Act of 1938, and to report back on what they had done in that connection. It's now three years later; they have *not* reported back on any enforcement procedures.

ABM System

By SEN. JACK MILLER (R.-Iowa)

The decision by Congress to authorize construction of a "thin-line" anti-ballistic missile system will definitely contribute to the security of the people of the United States. We should not be misled by those who say this will result in a step up in the arms race. It is the Soviet Union which has done the stepping up. Our failure to respond would leave us open to nuclear blackmail or an even worse fate.

Polls Misleading

By REP. JAMES FULTON (R.-Pa.)

We must realize that conditions are changing, opinions are changing, candidates are changing, events are changing, and political realities are changing. Under these circumstances, opinion polls should be taken, even if accurate at the time, for merely a slice of public opinion at a specific instant of time, and a very thin slice of opinion factor at that.

Unless the polls are taken contemporaneously and opinions sought concurrently at about the same time, a large error factor enters simply because of the lapse of time or the variety of situations in which the polltakers take the count and the opinions are given.

Having taken a course in statistics, as well as a number of mathematics courses, I wonder what the correlation would be between a poll of the same people taken on a Monday morning after a rainy summer weekend and immediately after a tremendous local high school football victory.

Polls should be taken for just what they are—of some value, but really just feathers in the wind.

Criminal Leniency

By REP. WILLIAM DICKINSON (R.-Ala.)

Unwarranted leniency both in arrest and sentencing just provokes more criminal acts. Maybe if this permissiveness is done away with we won't have a 17 per cent crime rise next year.

No Inspection Safeguards

Nuclear Treaty Dangers

By SEN. STROM THURMOND (R.-S. C.)

President Johnson regards the signing of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty as a great achievement in diplomacy. However, the pact deprives the United States of a defense option which could be critical to our survival. Before the treaty can take effect, it must be scrutinized by the U.S. Senate, and ratified only if it contains positive advantages for our own security. In actuality, the treaty appears to be detrimental to our security.

The purpose of the treaty avowedly is to prevent the capability for making and using nuclear weapons from falling into the hands of the non-nuclear powers. Five nations now have that capability. Proponents of the treaty allege that any proliferation of this nuclear club would be a threat to world peace.

The Administration apparently overlooks the fact that our own security may some day depend upon selective proliferation—that is, it may be necessary to arm our allies as part of our own defense.

For example, an anti-ballistic missile defense system deployed in Germany would give us quicker warning and protection, as well as providing for the defense of Europe from Soviet attack. Technological developments make it possible to insure that such a European ABM could never be used for any purpose except the deterrence of Communist aggression. Such a defense would be a greater contribution to a guarantee of peace than all of the hazy rhetoric of a non-proliferation pact.

Another drawback is that the treaty makes no provision for adequate inspection safeguards. We would have no way to make certain that the Soviets do not arm their satellites. The treaty contains only a promise to negotiate safeguards six months after the treaty goes into effect. There is no guarantee that the safeguards finally agreed upon will be adequate, or even that an agreement will be reached.

A third problem is that the treaty threatens to break up NATO. If German signs, she would not be able to defend herself. The NATO agreement comes up for renegotiation next year, but the non-proliferation treaty lasts for 25 years. Germany, presently the European bulwark of NATO, is afraid she will be left out on a limb, and has so far refused to sign.

In fact, the other nations most critical to the success of the treaty, both nuclear and non-nuclear nations, have also refused to sign. France is staying out, and so is Red China, among the nuclear powers. Red China's refusal makes it possible for collusion between Peking and Moscow to develop and test new weapons. Although relations between the two Communist giants appear strained today, almost everyone expects a new regime in Peking within a few years at most.

Besides Germany, the significant non-nuclear nations which have refused to sign are Japan, India and Israel. These are the nations which presumably have the scientific and economic capability to produce nuclear weapons if they choose. They are also nations which believe they have real grounds to fear neighboring aggression. They regard the promise of United Nations Security Council protection against aggression as an empty gesture not to be measured against their own security.

Finally, the treaty provides for unilateral withdrawal from the agreement by giving three months' notice. It may be that the United States itself will have to make use of this provision. But nothing would prevent the Soviet Union from intensive development and even deployment of the basic components of weapons systems, minus nuclear warheads, before breaking the treaty, or at best giving three months' notice.

Since the ratification of the Outer Space Treaty last year, the Soviets have hastened development of the so-called Fractional Orbital Bomb System, and perhaps even a full orbital system. Yet they claim to be in technical compliance with the space treaty.

We must never forget that for the Soviets a treaty is nothing but a scrap of paper. They exploit the good faith of the United States to retard our weapons development, after they have reached their own desired stage of achievement. The Senate must not make the mistake of ratifying the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Legislative Boxscore

The following is a round-up of items of particular interest to Human Events readers:

• By a rollcall vote of 295 to 114, the House passed the Administration-backed, $5.2-billion, three-year **Housing and Urban Development bill** (HR 17989) which sets up home ownership and rent subsidy programs for low-income families. Before passing the legislation, the House adopted an amendment lowering the income limit on the home ownership program (see last week's **Human Events**); proponents of the measure had argued that the Administration bill would not reach those families most in need of assistance. The measure now goes to conference to iron out this and other differences.

• The Senate passed and sent to conference the **Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act** (HR 12120) which authorizes a three-year, $150-million program of grants to states, local governments and public and private agencies to prevent juvenile delinquency and rehabilitate young offenders. Final passage of the bill came after the Senate rejected an amendment proposed by George Murphy (R.-Calif.), requiring that all allocations be made in block grants directly to state governments. Since the House version of the bill included the block grant arrangement, this will be a major issue in conference.

• The Senate Finance Committee of Russell B. Long (D.-La.) has begun hearings on LBJ's **balance-of-payments proposal** (HR 16241) which includes a 5 per cent tax on international travel tickets, a reduction in duty-free purchases from $100 to $10 and the controversial tax on U.S. citizens' overseas expenditures in excess of $7 per day. The House passed this measure without the travel tax, which Senate liberals are intent on retaining.

• The House Agriculture Committee has reported a bill (HR 18249) designed to increase the food buying power of low-income families through **expansion of the federal food stamp program**. The bill calls for an increase in expenditures for fiscal 1969 to $245 million and was amended to prohibit college students or union strikers from buying food stamps unless they were previously eligible for them.

• The House Committee on Un-American Activities has reported a bill (HR 1526) entitled the **Defense Facilities and Industrial Security Act**, authorizing a personal security screening program for employment in sensitive defense facilities. It also placed new prohibitions on the hiring of members of "Communist action movements" in defense industries. This legislation is designed to replace the security bills for defense industries struck down by the Supreme Court.

• The House Ways and Means Committee has concluded hearings on the Administration's **Trade Expansion Act of 1968** (HR 17551). This act provides a two-year extension of presidential negotiating powers in the area of tariffs, and allows federal compensation to companies affected by foreign imports.

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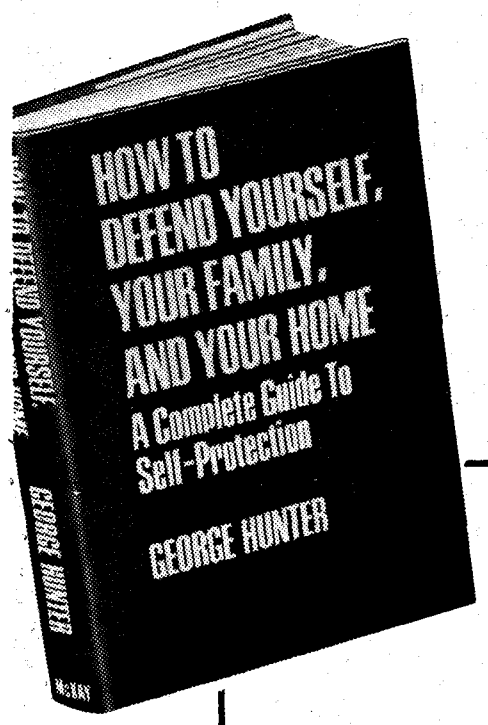

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